

OCEANIA

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NEWS RELEASE

**An ocean of island people
affirm their Christian faith
in more than 1000 languages**

More than 25,000 islands, spattered across an 88 million-square-kilometer expanse of Pacific water, make up the land-mass of Oceania. On these islands, 25 million people live in diverse cultures, grouped in 20 island nations, plus Australia and New Zealand.

Some 87 percent of these people profess Christianity -- a drop of at least 5 percent since 1970, most apparent in Australia and New Zealand. Membership is declining in mainline denominations, while rising in smaller, newer, more charismatic, and more informal church groups.

These are some of the facts revealed in the latest edition of the World Christianity series of books by World Vision's MARC (Missions Advanced Research and Communications) Division, just released. Edited by Dr. Leonora Mosende Douglas, Philippine educator and a senior research associate of World Vision International, the volume provides a contemporary, comprehensive overview of Christianity and the Church to be used as a working tool for evangelism and ministry in Oceania.

Because there is no available communications infrastructure embracing all segments of Christianity in the Oceania areas of the Pacific, accurate statistical data have not always been easy to acquire. The facts that have surfaced, however, reveal that:

In the 1960's and '70's, national churches emerged from the mission churches.

The Church is attempting to address the major political and justice issues of the times. It is also grappling with socio-economic problems.

Ecumenism and a growing involvement of youth and women in the church are among the positive factors occurring in the Christian scene in Oceania.

Protestantism and Catholicism are both strong where their respective missionary efforts were carried out with persistence.

Large Hindu and Muslim populations in places like Fiji are unresponsive to Christian witness.

WORLD CHRISTIANITY: Oceania is a well-researched, informative book of 350 pages, with historical, ethnological and missiological data about one of the world's largest (geographically) and most christianized segments of the globe -- until now, rather severely neglected by Church researchers. Oceania lists for \$ 15.00 and is available from MARC at the regular direct-mail discount.

OCEANIA

①

Lessons from the South Pacific

~~Too much of the story of the South Pacific~~

One of the most interesting books I have read about the South Pacific - a book Alan Tippett on the anthropology of the islands, ^{Aspects of Pacific Ethnohistory (Wm. Carey, 1973)} - has a final chapter titled "Skeletons in the Literary Closet." What he says, essentially, is "Don't believe what you read about the South Pacific." It is a warning. He warns against believing anthropologists - although he is a professional anthropologist. He warns against believing missionaries - although he was a missionary, and later a professor in a School of World Mission. But most of all, don't believe the novels - the fiction written about the South Pacific paradise.

It's not that the anthropologists or the missionaries wrote to deceive. They were both describing what they actually saw - but each saw a different side. It's the novelists who are the greater villains - like Melville (you remember him in *Moby-Dick*? He also wrote *Typee* and *Moo* - supposedly the story of a ship-wrecked sailor who discovers among the Polynesians - "an innocent and untouched Garden of Eden", and who falls in love with the "Noble Savage" untainted by the vices of our western civilization. From Melville to Michener - Michener's *Hawaii* has probably done more harm to the missionary cause in our generation than any other single book. Why? Because most people take it for history. And it is Michener's fault. He uses the real name of a real missionary society - the Am. Bd. Comm. for For. Missions - which was the real funder of the museums in Hawaii - and says his book is "true to the spirit and history of Hawaii" - but fails to inform his reader where his history leaves off and his fiction begins.

Tippett points out four major unfair distortions of missionary work in his book (A.R. Tippett, *Aspects of Pacific Ethnohistory*. Pasadena; Wm. Carey, 1973. pp 171 ff.).

① He portrays missionaries as rude, narrow-minded iconoclasts, and blames them for destroying the old ways and religions of beautiful Hawaii. That's fiction. History

tells us that "this happened before they [the missionaries] arrived, and the Hawaiians were a demoralized people" already losing their religious beliefs and beginning to die as a race before the coming of the missionaries in 1820. "The most rapid rate of population decline was between 1750 and 1820." ^{CP 171} ^{Even Times Magazine} blamed this population drop on the missionaries (p. 171, and 184, n. 40)

② The major character "Omer Hale" is pictured as the typical leader of the mission party. He is, says Tyjett, "the most unreal and phony thing in the whole book - a ~~He is the typical Hale is~~ ~~missionary~~ and zealot, a legalist - the typical victim ~~of~~ caricature of a puritan missionary. That's not the real leader of these pioneers - ^{the historical} Hiram Bingham, a great name at Yale and a family still honored for service to the oppressed.

③ Muchins implies that that "early Hawaiian mission was a failure, and that the missionaries had no real response to their preaching. On the contrary, Hiram Bingham used to preach to 2000 people at a time" - and the church grew so fast the mission turned over the work to the Hawaiians as early as 1863.

④ Perhaps the most widely believed distortion of the novel is that pre-Christian life in the islands was "a way of love", and ~~it~~ ^{it's culture} was a thing of beauty, gentleness, peace and untouched innocence. Any real history of the islands will dispell that false notion. It was a life of fierce tribal wars, torture of captives, and even cannibalism in large parts of the South Pacific.

So don't believe everything you read about the South Pacific + missions in the S. Pacific.

IV OCEANIA: The South Pacific

The expansion of Christianity into the South Pacific in the middle of the great Century of Missions, the 19th - did more to stamp the image of Christian missions with a romantic glow of adventure and martyrdom and moonlight ^{on the lagoons} ~~among the palms~~ ~~the lagoons~~ - than any other period in the "great Century" of Missions.

It also, as misinterpreted in the popular 20th century fiction, gave it some of its most negative caricatures of missionaries - humblers, acid Puritans forcing Walter Hubbards on gentle, and unspoiled islanders in arrogant condemnation of their own ^{gentle and} beautiful cultures.

mid 20



What was it really like, ^{the rise of the South Sea churches?} Well, ^{the conversion of the island world of the Pacific} it was the nearest thing to ^{the conversion of our own ancestors in} what happened in Europe - ^{the conversion of the ancestors of what} ~~the conversion of our own ancestors in~~ ~~the conversion of the ancestors of what~~ ⁱⁿ what (The nearest thing to the conversion of our own barbarian ancestors of anything that has happened in church history.) we now call the "first world", the west - ~~the Christian west as it used to~~

~~be called~~, Charles Forman of Yale points this out in the best book on 20th century Oceania, The Island Churches of the South Pacific: Emergence in the 20th century (Orbis, 1982). He draws a very perceptive parallel between the early Christianization of Europe ~~over~~ a thousand and more years ago and the ~~Christian~~ rise of the 3rd world churches in Oceania in the 19th + 20th centuries.

Readings: John Garrett, To Live Among the Stars: Christian Oryza in Oceania, 1982
Neil Gunnson, Messengers of Grace: Evangelical Missions in the S. Seas 1797-1859. 1979
Ian Sheehy: Pacific Conquest: Hist. of 150 Yrs. of Missionary Progress in the S. Pacific (1949). (enms)

He ~~notes that~~ ^{in terms of} the conversion of whole nations to Christianity, ^[says Forness] the conversion of Europe and the conversion of the island nations of the South Pacific are among the most successful missionary accomplishments in the whole record of church history. Cp.

It all began in 1797 (about 200 years ago) when 30 missionaries of the ^{newly formed} London Missionary Society landed in Tahiti. They knew nothing about the South Pacific. ^{They had} no missionary experience, and no real idea of how to go about missionary work, except the mistaken notion that the islanders would have to be first civilized before they could begin to understand what it means to be Christian.

No wonder they failed. 24 of the 30 gave up and went home before two years were out. Of the 6 who remained, five lasted less than another 7 or 8 years, and when a revolution shook the island's king off his throne, there was only one missionary left to flee with him into exile. But the revolution failed. ^{The missionary's friend,} King Pomare II, recovered, and attacked the rebels. The islanders, incidentally, were not as gentle and unspriced as the romantic novels make them out to be. They loved to fight and were as fierce, and at times as cruel as our

own ancestor in Northern Europe before the coming of the missionaries. [An Australian anthropologist ^{Derek Freeman} stirred up a tempest in academic circles recently by exposing the flaws in the scientific study of one of the world's most popular anthropologists - Margaret Mead. Her 'Coming of Age in Samoa' said the transition was at least in part, ^{in part, a function of hormones, idealizing the sexual freedom, the} ~~the~~ ^{gender} ~~liberties~~ -

Before King Pōmare led his warriors into battle against the rebels, the missionary, whom he had come to trust, suggested that he pray to the Lord God Almighty. ^{The King} ~~He~~ did, and he won the battle, and was so impressed ~~with~~ that he not only decided to become a Christian but - though he didn't exactly order his people to follow him into the new faith - he left no doubt that he expected them to. The whole nation became Christian. The old pagan laws were set aside - ^{Laws of} ~~the~~ ^{sacrifice} and taken and the more barbaric elements of ^{which was included cannibalism in Fiji.} the island culture, New Christian laws were established and enforced.

Perhaps at this point, most of us begin to think: 'Is that good? Isn't it just repeating all the old mistakes of church history - ~~all the ones we tend to criticize~~ Aren't we supposed to criticize Constantinian triumphalism - claiming God for his side in the great battle of the Milvian Bridge, becoming a Christian only because he won a war, and then proceeding to dominate, and politicize and secularize the church until it scarcely resembled our ideal of early, radical, Biblical Christianity. And isn't that ^{first} Tahitian pattern, repeated so often in the

[4]

South Seas, too much like Charlemagne and the conversion of Northern Europe - converting the Saxons by the sword and by decree.

Well, these are ~~some~~ overtones of all those early historical distortions of what we now consider to be proper Christian missionary methods in the story of the conversion of the islands. But it is dangerous to tamper with success, and to think ~~our~~ ~~theories~~ ~~are~~ ~~more~~ ~~important~~ ~~to~~ ~~defend~~ ~~than~~ ~~the~~ ~~re-~~ ~~sults~~, ^{our} theories are always more important than ^{our} results. Orthodoxy is more popular than orthodoxy these days (which comes as something of a surprise to me) but how else do you judge orthodoxy but either by orthodoxy, or by pragmatic results - and the success of the expansion of Christianity into the South Pacific is difficult to deny. cd 24 =

Compare it with the other two third world areas we have surveyed in this course, Africa and Latin America. [Asia will come next semester].

African Christianity is growing faster, but in percentage of Christians to the population Oceania is far more Christianized. ^{if we exclude Austr. + N.Z.,} In fact, Oceania has twice as high a ratio of Christians to the population as Africa: 44% in Africa; 88% in the South Pacific islands.

Latin America ~~has~~ is more massively and statistically Christian than Oceania, 94% compared with 88%.

- [L.A. 93.8% Xn.
- Oceania 88% Xn - excluding Austral./N.Z
- Africa 44.2%
- USSR - 36%
- Europe 85.4%
- N. Amer. 88.3%
- Asia 5.1%] - World in Handbk. - p. 782 ff.

But Latin America, converted by foreign conquest and colonization, is not in the same category of missionary evangelization as Oceania, whose converted kings, like Europe's Constantine & Egbert of East Angles, and Charlemagne, were native rulers, not foreign governors, and whose ~~missionaries~~, after the first wave of ~~preaching~~ ~~was~~ people followed their own kings, not foreign conquerors, and their own island evangelists, not foreign missionaries (after the first wave of preaching) into the new, liberating faith, Christianity.

These are the 2 essentially indigenous characteristics of the expansion of the Christian faith into Oceania:

1. Conversion by nations, or tribes or villages. The homogeneous unit principle applied to ^{mission} ~~evangelism~~ - often criticized but very effective.
2. Lay evangelism - or Third-world mission, where it crosses cultural boundaries.

1. Conversion by homogeneous units: Contextualizing.

Examples of the first principle - conversion by nation or tribe or whole village would include: Tahiti, Hawaii, Tonga, Fiji and Samoa.

- Tahiti^{→ Society Islands.} - and the conversion of King Pomare II, in 1815.

- Hawaii - and the conversion of important members of the royal family, in 1823.

Tonga - and the conversion of the principal chief Tanfa'ahan^{Tou'ou} Tomou in 1830 - who took the Christian name of George and became King of all Tonga in 1852.

Fiji - and the conversion of the fierce and warlike Congerev Thekombau

- Samoa - and a Samoan chief, converted in Tonga, was brought home to his own island in 1830 by the famous missionary John Williams. Williams left him ^{with some native Tahitian evangelists} there and went back to Tahiti. When he next visited Samoa, not long afterwards, he found that all through the islands people were calling themselves Christians and asking to learn more about the new religion. It was not until six years later that the first resident foreign missionaries arrived, and by that time the Samoans were already building their own chapels, and were being baptized by the lay evangelists. They organized the church by their own clan and chief structures. It was a thoroughly Samoan, strongly tribal and national church from the beginning. (Forman, p. 4f., Latourette, II., p. 214 f.)

New Guinea. Much later, at the beginning of the 19th century, this same system of tribal or village, rather than individual conversions, became the secret of Christian mission success in Papua New Guinea. Read the little paperback by G.F. Vicedom (~~later~~ famous for his Missio Dei ¹⁹⁵⁷ Theology of Missions), Church and People in New Guinea, 1961. Mission to Papua New Guinea had

been proscribed by German Lutherans beginning in 1886, and for ~~20~~²⁰ years, except for the baptism of some students in the little schools they started in the very primitive villages, there were few results. The faith did not spread, there was not even enough of a cohesive group of Christians with which to organize a church.

One of the German missionaries, Christian Keyser (1877-) finally decided he knew the reason why. As Vicodin describes it (p. 16) he noted that the missionaries had been talking to, and occasionally persuading a few, one at a time to convert and be baptized. The others, when asked would only say "Your God is a foreign God", or "It is contrary to our customs", or "Our ancestors were not Christian, and we can't be either", or simply "Our clan does not permit it."

Keyser decided that they would either become Xos. by whole tribes or villages, or not at all. ^{After that,} when after talking with a Papman about Christ, if the man actually was convinced & believed, and asked to be baptized, Keyser would say to him, "Not yet. Go on working, and talk to other members of your tribe, and when the whole tribe wants to be Christian, I'll baptize you all at once." That man would become the most zealous missionary you ever saw. Eager to be baptized, and happy and eager

in his own new faith, he would begin to work on the elders of the tribe and wear down their resistance. When at last they agreed, Keyssing would "call a great assembly," and "according to tribal custom" would "himself provide a feast." Vicedom was at one of these "assemblies" in Central New Guinea, where the gospel had been preached for four years, and people were crowding into the church services, 3 or 4 thousand on a Sunday. Lives had been changed, but no one had yet been baptized. It seemed however that the time had come for a decision. Meeting with the chiefs of the region & tribes, a day was set for the feast.
(see pp. 18-23.)

(9)a

F. Vicedom, *Church and People in New Guinea*
London. Lutterworth, 1961

I On the appointed day, the people came streaming in from every direction, and assembled at our airport. About 18,000 were present. This first day was wholly given up to the demonstration of heathenism. Each tribe organized itself and carried out its own dances. It was an overwhelming spectacle. The whole airport was a sea of men in movement. Dancing went on throughout the whole day until the evening. The reader may ask himself what all this has to do with the conversion of a tribe. The answer is that, according to Papuan psychology, nothing can be robbed of its power until it has first been put into execution. If we are intending to put away heathenism, an opportunity must first be given to show what heathenism really is.

II On the second day the people came back, and grouped themselves by tribes round a high pulpit. First of all the people sang a Christian hymn; then a missionary mounted the pulpit, prayed, and delivered a short address: "Friends, to-day you have come to take part in a great festival. No one has compelled you. You have come of your own free will, because God has called you. That is very fine, and we are glad of it. To-day you wish to give up your heathen ways, and to accept Christianity. No one has compelled you to do this either. You have heard God's Word, and now you cannot get free from God. That is why you have decided to take this step. Now it may be that there are many here who in their hearts are not ready to take this step. They are here only because they would feel ashamed, if they stayed away. Perhaps, while they are here, they will say 'Yes', and then, when they get back home, will go on with their old ways. God is not pleased with such conduct. What you promise here you must carry out. So I pray you—do not mock God. You cannot hide your hearts from God. He sees everything that you are doing to-day. God hears every word you say. God knows your thoughts. ^{but} If you are not serious in your intentions, go

back home. But if you really wish to come to God—do the work!"

The various tribes were represented by their chieftains. At this point the chiefs, one after the other, approached the pulpit. Each had a number of small pieces of wood in his hand. Each addressed his people roughly in the following manner: "See, my people; here I have in my hand a piece of wood. Its name is war. You know how we used to fight with one another. No one could go anywhere without fear. We could not sleep at night for pricking up our ears at every sound. Since the Word of God came to us, peace has returned. Now for the first time we know how pleasant life can be. Now what is your choice? Shall we go back to fighting as we used to do, or shall we continue to live in peace?" The people answered: "We choose peace. We promise never to go to war again". The chief continued, "See now, as I throw away this piece of wood, so we cast war away. From henceforth everyone among us shall live in safety. We will not kill any more!" The people responded, "We will not kill any more".

The chief resumed, "Here I have a stick called sorcery. We used to be even more afraid of sorcery than we were of war. If anyone was ill, he at once said to himself 'I am bewitched'. If any misfortune happened, it was the sorcerer who had been at work. If our crops did not prosper, we attributed it to sorcery. Sorcery is the mother of fear. God's Word has driven out sorcery. No one speaks about it any more. When we are ill, God heals us by means of medicines. Now what is your choice? Shall we keep sorcery, or shall we decide not to put up with it any longer?" The people replied: "We learned to pray. Never again will we have anything to do with sorcery". The chief: "See now, as I throw this piece of wood away—away with sorcery! Henceforth sorcery shall not be practised here". The people: "Henceforth sorcery shall not be practised here".

③ The chief: "My next piece of wood has to do with something that concerns women. You know what you did in old times when you had a baby. If you didn't like the baby, or if you were afraid of the work that it would cause, you did away with it. We men were often angry about this. To how many quarrels did it lead! God's Word tells us that it is God who gives us children. Now what is your choice? Do you intend to go on getting rid of the little ones as you used to do? Or are you prepared to bring them up as a gift from God?"
 The women: "We will obey God. We will bring up the children and not get rid of them". The chief: "See now, as I cast away this piece of wood, so we cast away child-in-urder from us. From now on no child shall be killed among us".
 The women: "From now on no child shall be killed among us".

④ In this way all the sins that were common among the people were worked through—theft, adultery, the worship of ancestors and so on. By the time that all the chiefs had said their say, it was already noon. Next came the second part of the day's business—turning to God. Once again a missionary mounted the pulpit. He held a new net in his hand, showed it to the people and said, "This net is now fresh and clean. It is also quite empty. In the same way your hearts are empty. You have shaken out all your sins. Nothing evil is left in them. But do you think that they will remain empty?"
 "No" cried out the whole assembly. "Will it not be as in the parable, where the devil finds a house, empty, swept and put in order? Unless something else enters into your hearts, the devil will find his way back again".

"We wish God to enter into our hearts".
 "Very well; but you must first commit yourselves to God".

Near the pulpit was a short wooden pole firmly fixed in the earth.

"See, God is here in the midst of you. God is here like this pole which stands firm and strong before you. No one can

pull it up. No one can overturn it. It stands quite firm. In the same way God will never leave you. In this God you can completely trust. The man who wishes that God should enter into his empty heart must now commit himself to him".

Once again the chiefs came forward. Each one held a bar in his hand, and said, "See, this pole stands for God, and this bar stands for us. You know how we used to be afraid of our gods and spirits. God has brought us peace. He has done us much good. He causes His Word to be proclaimed to us. It is His purpose to make us all happy. Now then, how shall it be? Shall God be left all alone, while each of us goes his own way, or do God and we belong together?"

The people: "God and we belong together. We wish to belong entirely to God".

The chief: "See, then. As I lean this bar up against the pole, so we now commit ourselves to God".

The people: "God and we belong to one another".

Once again, each chief carried out this ceremony for the people of his own tribe. But at this point the missionary also had something to do. As soon as the first chief had spoken, he mounted the pulpit and called out: "People, do not deceive yourselves. Look well at that bar. It is only leaning loosely up against the pole. If a strong wind blows, it will fall. You say now, 'God and we belong to one another!' But how will it be if sickness comes, if some misfortune befalls you, if famine comes? Will there not then be many who will say 'What we did when we committed ourselves to God was false. Now it is our own spirits who will help us'? Then you will fall away from God. What must we do to make sure that the link between you and God holds firm?"

"We must bind the bar firmly to the pole".

"Right. And what rope shall I use?"

"The Word of God is the rope".

"Quite correct; God's Word is the rope. And so just as I

bind the bar firmly to the pole with this rope, so I bind you firmly to God with God's own Word".

IV

This part of the ceremonies also lasted several hours. The missionaries imagined that at last everything was at an end; but they were mistaken. As the missionary who was in the pulpit came down, the people told him that their promise was not yet fully ratified. "Come," they said. Without his knowledge a small garden-plot had been prepared at a little distance. Then they said to the missionary, "When we are making a promise that must in no circumstances be broken, the two partners must plant a little tree together. Here are the seedlings. You must plant one of them in the earth with each of the chiefs". This, too, was a solemn ceremony. When it was finished, the people were satisfied that everything had been done in due and proper order.

V

It is clear that "conversion of a tribe" does not lead on automatically to "baptism of a tribe". It only makes it possible for the individual to be baptized without in consequence being driven out from the fellowship of his people. The baptism of a tribe may be spread out over a long period, and decades may pass before the last individual has finally made his decision. Since, however, the whole tribe has declared its will to be Christian, the Christian group from the date of its formation can take the lead in the affairs of the tribe.

Keysser did not keep people waiting for more than six months as candidates for baptism. Nowadays, where the evangelists are at work, people may be kept waiting two years. Part of the teaching consisted of about forty stories from the Old and New Testaments. Candidates were required to learn these by heart, in order to ensure that those illiterate people should have a basic understanding of the Word of God. In connection with these stories Keysser used to discuss with the candidates all the customs of Papuan life and the old religion.

Each learner was required to decide for himself which and how many of these old customs were in accordance with the will of God, and how much must be given up. It was the aim of the missionary that everything which had been learnt should at once be put into practice. The first class of candidates was asked to pass through a place which was known as a dwelling-place of spirits, in order to demonstrate their new conviction that the spirits have no power. For fear of the elders they could not make up their minds to do so. Keysser at once broke off the instruction for baptism. In this way was it brought home to the candidates that the Word of God demands obedience.

For the Papuan hearers, and I believe for others too, the Bible stories which they learnt prove their value in three ways. They tell men what God does for them in a quite definite situation, and what He requires of them. They explain more fully the relationship in which men stand to God. They make plain the response of God to the action of men. In this way they make it easier for the seeker after God to reach the decision which is required of him. Many of the people of the Bible become for the Papuans patterns of the way in which they themselves are expected to behave. Thus their faith and their obedience grow out of these great examples from old time.

O.T. 31, 45
N.W. 25, 8

iv Stages in Christian Growth

What are the stages through which a Papuan passes in becoming a Christian? We may perhaps give the following indications:

- 1. God comes to the people through His messengers. It is by their behaviour that God is judged. If the missionaries

② lay-evangelism: Third-world missions.

[Remember by homogeneity]

Much is made these days of the rise of third-world missions as the pattern for the future in the world Christian mission: partnership in mission between the old first-world missions and the young new third-world mission societies and programs. But there is nothing new about it. It was the pattern in the South Seas almost from the beginning, and, as we have seen, one of the decisive reasons for the success of missions in that whole vast Pacific area. (2 p 11)

The first island missionaries were from Tahiti, and the other Society islands, ^(west of Samoa, of your map) as ~~we have seen~~ taking the good news to the Cook Islands. ^(west + sw of Samoa, of your map) The flow was from the farther western islands back east toward Asia. Tompa sent the first missionaries to Fiji and Samoa, ^{The second stage of island mission expansion saw} and Samoa and Fiji promptly becoming the major bases for the ~~early~~ 19th century explosion of third-world mission in the Pacific, islanders from Polynesia in the east, where Christian expansion began carrying the gospel west into Melanesia, and north into Micronesia.

A word about the geography. There are ~~three~~ Oceanic masses more of the earth's surface than Africa or Latin America, more than 4 times as much as the United States. It is divided into three

major ^{areas} ~~divisions~~ of the South Pacific

- ① The tiny islands of the north are called Micronesia, so thinly populated for this survey. "People of the tiny islands"
- ② Farthest east - that is, toward N. America is Polynesia, an immense "ocean people" "the land of many islands" -

triangle of water stretching from Hawaii in the north to N. Zealand in the south, and about 5,000 miles; and then 4,000 miles east to Easter Island - but in all that mass of water, the islands ~~make up~~ have a total land area smaller than the state of Maryland, and a population, ^{of native islanders (which excludes most of the people in Hawaii or N.Z.)} once over a million, now less than half a million (about 200,000 in 1900; 1980 about 400,000). The largest islands ~~of~~ centers of Christianity ^{here} are Samoa, Tahiti (Fr. Polynesia) and Tonga. This is where Christianity

started in the South Pacific - in Polynesia. Tall + solid, the Polynesians make the average white man a woman "look young by comparison".

- ② In the west, is Melanesia, or the ocean ^{people of the} of "black islands".

From Polynesia the gospel was brought west by Polynesians to the Melanesians, first to Fiji (~~which is sometimes called Polynesian; sometimes Melanesian~~), and the Solomons and last of all to the biggest island of all in Oceania, New Guinea. The western end of the island is now Indonesian, and so is part of Asia; but the east is considered Oceanic - Papua ^{New} Guinea. Its 3 million people make up over half the entire population of the islands, but as the part farthest west, it was the last part reached by the island missionary evangelists.

↓

Fiji has one of the best theological seminaries in the islands, the Pacific Theological College. The college chapel is a beautiful, fairly new building, which is dedicated "to the Pacific islanders who have gone out as missionaries from their homelands to other island territories carrying ~~the~~ forward the faith newly come to them." ~~At~~ The chapel keeps a list of the names of as many of those island pioneers as they have been able to discover. Already the list ~~has~~ ^{has} over a thousand names, "not counting the wives", and if to this list were added the names of the Papuan missionaries, whose cross-cultural witness across tribal lines on the big island was as truly a "foreign missionary" work as the missions from one island to another, the list would be well over 3,000. (Forman, "The Missionary Force of the Pacific Island Churches," in Int. Rev. of Missions, vol. LIX, Jan.-Oct., 1970, pp. 215-226, esp. pp. 215, 220).

Fiji and Samoa have been the great missionary churches, sending ~~about~~ "the first for Methodists, the second for Congregationalists. The major receiving territory was Papua New Guinea, ^{to} which the other islands sent 561 ~~of~~ of their own people as missionaries. And Papua in turn became an even greater missionary-sending center on its own. By 1935 more than 800 Papuans

800 Papuans had become missionaries to other tribes; by 1961, ~~the~~ Papua had 1,200 of these missionaries, - Papuans answering the missionary call (ibid. p. 220).

NATIONS

Papua	2,960,000 (97% %)
Fiji	635,000 (49% %)
Solomon	216,000 (95% %)
W. Samoa	194,000 (98% %)
Tahiti	151,000 (99% %)
New Caledonia	144,000 (91% %)
Tonga	119,000 (98.5% %)

To evangelize other tribes in the dangerous, hostile mountains and valleys what has been called "the last untouched frontier in missions."

But what great missionary churches these churches

of the islands have been -

CHURCHES

1. Papua - Sw. Meth.	365,000
2. Papua-United (Meth. + Cong.)	219,000
3. Fiji Methodist	157,000
4. Papua - 7 th Day Adv.	72,000
5. W. Samoa Cong. Ch.	60,000
6. Papua Anglic.	60,000
7. Tahiti W. (Presb.)	50,000

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|---|
| 1. Papua - 2,900,000 thousand people - perhaps 2,800,000 know Sw. Meth. the largest United (Cong) next. ^{365,000} |
| 2. Fiji Methodist - the third largest denomination in the islands. (157,000) |
| 3. Papua - 7 th Day Adv. 194,000 people - 190,000 Christians. W. Samoa Cong. Ch. |

Not by might, and not by force - not by price of arms and conquest, but by one islander speaking to another about Jesus Christ.

When George Brown, a Westerner, made the first landing on Ontong Java, an atoll north of the Solomons - the people would have nothing to do with him. But he had with him a Tongan missionary, James Nan. "What about it James," he said, as Charles Forman tells the story, ^(in his article "The Missionary Force of the Pacific Island Churches," p. 223) And the man from Tonga answered, "O sir, before the chiefs in my land of Tonga, and in the presence of God's people there, I volunteered and said, "let my life be consumed in the service of my Lord Jesus Christ. Whether I live or die, be thirsty or hungry, live in comfort or distress, I will follow Jesus." (~~p. 223~~).

Sometimes the Papuan evangelists in New Guinea were almost foolishly brave, as if they wanted to be martyrs for Christ. They would ~~offer themselves as substitutes for~~ throw themselves between warring tribes, to try to stop the fighting, and some offered themselves as substitutes for prisoners about to be killed, to stop the killing. Some died, others so impressed the tribes that chiefs would call off wars, and be converted on the spot.

But ~~the~~ one of the best descriptions of the ~~missionary spirit~~ kind of missionary spirit that won the islands for Jesus Christ, is a sentence from the autobiography of the islander Osea Liger of New Britain, a large island off the coast of Papua New Guinea (quoted by Ch. Forman, ^{"Missionary Work"} p. 225) "When the people saw we loved them," he said, "they loved us in return..." And what was more important, he would be the first to add, they came to love the Lord Jesus Christ.

Where there are third-world Christians like that - in Oceania, Africa, Latin America or Asia, there will be third-world churches in a partnership of mission that will circle the globe until, as the ^{"vices in heaven"} ~~Scriptures~~ ^{Scriptures} promise, "the kingdoms of this world ~~shall~~ ^{shall} have become the kingdom of our Lord and of his Christ, and He shall reign forever and ever." (Rev 11:15).

1962 - World Bank

Meth Fiji	-	157,635
Tahiti Fresh. (Group)		45,000
New Caledonia (Ev. Fresh.)		17,000
Papua N. Guinea	Ev. Luth.	365,000
(Corp. Fresh. Meth.)	United	210,000
	7 th Prov.	72,000
	Prov.	60,000
	Mo Luth.	48,000

Western Samoa	Corp. Luth.	60,000
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Samoa	Anglic.	50,000
	S. Sea Ev.	20,000

New Hebrides	Fresh	3,000
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Population		%
Fiji	635,000	49%
P. New G.	2,980,000	97%
Samoa	216,000	95%
W. Samoa	194,000	98%
Tahiti	151,000	94%

Oceania

	Pop.	(Yn)	%
American Samoa	38,000	(37,620)	99.9%
Australia	15,140,000	(12,732,700)	84.1%
Fiji	635,000	(315,560)	49.7%
Guam	113,000	(109,400)	96.8%
French Polynesia (Tahiti)	151,000	(142,200)	94.2%
New Caledonia	144,000	(130,430)	90.6%
New Zealand	3,263,000	(2,969,330)	91.0%
North Solomons - in Pop. 1946	101,500		98.6%
Pacific Isl. Trust (Micronesia)	135,000	(131,620)	97.5%
Papua New Guinea	2,989,000	(2,879,420)	96.6%
Samoa (Western)	194,000	(190,700)	98.3%
Solomon Islands	216,000	(205,800)	95.3%
Tonga	119,000	(117,270)	98.5%
Vanuatu (New Hebrides)	111,000	(105,170)	94.7%

Cong. Am. (15,000); RC (5,000)
 Anglican (3,775,625); RC (3,035,201); Unit. King (Presb. M.) (1,191,055);
 Baptist Union (170,000); Ev. Luth. (175,000); Presb. (150,000);
 Meth. (157,635); RC (44,000); Mos. of Ind. (20,000)
 RC (70,000); S. Bapt. (3,000); 7th Day (2,000); Gen. Bapt. (1,000);
 Evangelical (Presb.) (45,000); RC (36,000);
 RC (77,000); Evangelical Ch. (17,000)
 Anglican (577,000); Presb. (500,000); RC (426,000); Meth. (160,000)
 RC (66,230)] Papua N Guinea, but some autonomous
 RC (45,000); Prot. Ch. of S. Trust (15,000); United Ch. of Tonga (10,000)
 United Ch. of Vanuatu Isl. (10,000)
 RC (607,000); Ev. Luth. (365,000); United Ch. (LMS, Presb., Meth., 7th Day, (72,000)
 Anglican (64,000); Mos. Luth. (48,000); Ev. Luth. (40,000)
 Congreg. Ch. (60,000); RC (30,000); Muslim (22,000); Meth. (15,000).
 Anglican (50,000); RC (30,000); South Sea (Evang. (1/2 of 44 Prot.) 20,000
 Free Wesleyan (35,000); Muslim (16,000); RC (14,000)
 Presbyterian (30,000); RC (13,000); Anglic. (10,000)

All Oceania	23,482,000	(20,248,794)	86.4%
1950 Australia + NZ (Ins.)	(15,702,030)	= 85.3%	= 77%
Melanesia (Ins.)	3,422,650	} 4,450,000 = 22%	} Population 1950 - 18,403,000
Micronesia + Polyn. Ins.	1,026,866		

- p. 778

All Oceania (inc Austr. NZ)	1900	1970	1980	2000
Population	6,223,400	19,323,000	23,482,000	32,714,000
Unevangelized	1,076,521 (17.3%)	28,620 (0.1%)	20,150 (0.1%)	0 (0%)
Evangelized	5,146,879 (82.7%)	19,294,380 (99.9%)	23,462,000 (99.9%)	32,714,000
Christians	4,527,000 (72.6%)	17,851,000 (92.4%)	20,298,000 (86.4%)	27,741,000 (84.8%)

Largest Churches

Papua New Guinea Ev. Luth.	365,000
" " United (Presb. Cong. Meth.)	210,000
Fiji Methodists	157,000
Papua 7 th Day Adv.	72,000
Western Samoa Cong. Ch.	60,000
Papua Anglican	60,000
Solomon Isl. Anglican	50,000
Tahiti W. (Presb.)	45,000
Papua Mos. Luth.	43,000
New Hebrides Presb.	30,000

Largest Countries:

Country	%	Pop.
Papua N. Guinea	97%	3,000,000
Fiji	(49%)	640,000
Solomons	(48%)	220,000
West. Samoa	(48%)	200,000
Tahiti (Fr. Polynes.)	(54%)	150,000
New Caledonia	(91%)	145,000
Pac. Isl. Trust	(97.5%)	135,000
Tonga	(98.5%)	100,000

Oceania - cont. - Keesing, Native Peoples of the Pacific World

Melanesia . one of the great empty frontiers of the earth. 400,000 sq. mi ($\frac{1}{5}$ size of U.S.)

Islands

Indonesian New Guinea - 2,000,000

Papua 350,000

Northeast N. Guinea 350,000

Solomons 150,000

Fiji 110,000.

} contrast + complex.

Oceania - Felix M. Keesing. Native Peoples of the Pacific World, 1945.

Two Pacific Island groupings

- ① Malayan or Indonesian
- ② Oceania or South Sea

Oceania - three main types

- ① Melanesians - people of the "black islands"
- ② Micronesia - people of the "tiny islands"
- ③ Polynesia - people of the "many islands"

Polynesia - immense triangle of water, but land area (excluding N.Z.) 10,000 sq. mi - about size of Maryland once 1,000,000 people. Only about 200,000 left in 1900; now back up to 350,000 +.

1450

Pop	in	%
Tonga 119,000	117,000	98.5%
Samoa 144,000	140,000	98.3%
Tahiti 151,000	142,000	94.2%

island. Hawaii to Easter Is. to N.Z. triangle.

Hawaiians - 70,000
Samoans - 73,000
Maoris - 100,000

Tongans - 35,000.

tall, solid - "the average white man or woman looks puny beside them."
Racially - composite of ancient Caucasian + Mongolian.

Race - "the Vikings of the Pacific". Combine ^{ancient} Caucasian + Mongolian elements. Tall, solid - the average white man or woman looks puny beside them" - p. 10

Religion - before end of 19th c., practically all had converted to Christianity.

Micronesia - over 100 significant islands; only 80 inhabited. 1,200 sq. mi (1/4 size of Connecticut).

Gilbertese - 32,000
Carolinians - 30,000
Guam - 23,000

} total about 110,000.

little common identity - more Asian in west, more Polynesian in east.

language - Chamorro (Sp + Filipino like) in west; Kanak (Polynesian) in east

Religion - Catholics in west; Protestant in east.

PAPUA

G. F. Vicard, Church & People in New Guinea, 1961.

New Guinea - 2nd largest island in the world - 1960 population 4,000,000.

Eastern New Guinea - formerly Australia, now Papua N. Guinea.

Papua was regarded "as one of the most backward peoples in the world". Illiterate, split into hundred of tribes none more than 3000 members, some only a few hundred. No village at peace with its neighbors. Peace came only after coming of the gospel (p. 8).

Polygamy - horrible - it was a man's duty to increase his life force by taking into himself other outside force - often by ~~and~~ killing + eating others. Spirits were ~~bad~~ souls of the dead, not to be troubled, demons were horrible.

Knew the name of a Creator God, but nothing else about him.

Mission History -

1886 - German Lutheran Neuenhettelsau Mission; 1887 Rheinisch. 13 yrs. no results

1899 - first 2 baptisms

1910 - first regularly organized congregation.

But great expansion - why?

Methods: ① Mission without money - but lots of self-sacrifice + hard work.

② Ministry activity of converted Xns

Since no help from home, they had to rely on Papuans - teach them what to do + work with them.

Since missionaries were Xns. + behaved like Xns - the Xn faith was related from the beginning to life + work of the Papuans - and were sent out for life. (p. 13).

Necessary from the beginning to observe local customs + customs - or nothing got done.

Lived and worked with the people. - p. 11 f. No furloughs. Children grew up with them.

1886 - 1907. Time of experiment.

Translated Bible stories.

Started schools - no one ate unless he worked for it (Papua principle)

Students broke with traditions, opposed elders "too dangerous, this gospel" - p. 15.

Students were baptized - after 13 yrs of work - suddenly less influence. This had put them outside the clan.

Change of policy - no baptisms until whole clan would accept. Policy of Christian Keyser (1877-)

① 1905 - 1930 - Tribal conversion period (finally policy generally accepted by 1915).

② Mission by Papuan evangelists. (At first paid by mission; converted - pd. by the community + sent to unevangelized tribes. Strange. considered working spirit - no man would leave his own home + tribe. Restricted. So had to live + work + learn language.

Oceania - material.

Central Oceania alone - as large as Europe.

Vicinity of Tahiti - largest cont. in the world = $\frac{1}{2}$ Europe.

low & high islands - high volcanic - mostly over 4,000 ft. or 13,000 ft.
low atoll

3 divisions - Micronesia - the little islands $\frac{1}{50}$ of Oceania area. Gilbert, Marshall, Marian
Polynesia - the many islands $\frac{1}{7}$ " Samoa and (Aust) Hawaii, Society
Melanesia - the black islands $\frac{4}{5}$ " Fiji, New Hebr., Solomon, Loyalty
New Guinea, Tonga etc.

They moved from the east - farthest out - toward the west - -

~~A~~
First draft.

OCEANIA - The South Pacific

In his recent book on the South Pacific Churches, The Island Churches of the South Pacific: Emergence in the 20th Century (Orbis: 1952) the Prof. of Missions at Yale, Dr. Charles W. Forman (who was a missionary colleague of mine) draws a very perceptive parallel between the early Christianization of Europe from the 6th to the 11th centuries, and the Christian mission in 19th and 20th century Oceania. In terms of the conversion of whole nations to Christianity, the conversion of Europe in the early Middle Ages, and the conversion of the island nations of the South Pacific are among the most successful missionary accomplishments in the whole record of church history.

"It is a surprising thing about the missionary movement of the past two centuries that scarcely anywhere outside the Pacific islands has it met with the unified national acceptance of Christianity that was typical of the conversion of Europe in the Middle Ages."

Let me pause here and recommend the two best recent

books on Christianity in the South Pacific.

1. Charles W. Forman, The Island Churches of the S. Pacific - on 20th c. developments
2. John Garrett, To Live Among the Stars: Christian Origins in Oceania (1952) - 19th c. history.
- and 3. Niel Gunnson, Messengers of Grace: Evangelical Missionaries in the South Seas 1797-1859 (1979)
4. Aarre Koskunen, Missionary Influence as a Political Factor in the Pacific Islands (1953)
- and 5. Ian Sheill, Pacific Conquest, the History of 150 Years of Missionary Progress in the South Pacific (1949) - with James A. Boutillier, D.S. Hughes, S.W. Tiffany. Mission, Church and Sect in Oceania Ann Arbor, U. of Mich. 1975 (Acc. for Soc. Anthropol. in Oceania. Monograph # 6.
6. Alan Tippett, Aspects of Pacific Ethnohistory (Pasadena: Wm. Carey, 1973).

It all started in 1797 when 30 missionaries of the LMS landed on Tahiti, with no expense, no knowledge of the island, and no real plan, except the thought that they must first ~~break~~ civilize the natives before they could convert them to the true faith. No wonder they failed. 24 of the 30 gave up before two years were out. 5 out of the 6 who stayed gave up in the next 8 years and went home. Only one man stayed ^{the cause} ~~and went to a revolution~~ when a revolution toppled the throne, ~~discouraged them~~. Only 1 out of the 30 went with the ^{Tahitian Pomare II} king into exile. But ~~in~~ the revolution failed, and the king, ^{praying before battle, as the mission requested,} returned victorious, he was so impressed with ~~that man's loyalty~~ that he not only decided to become a Xian, but ~~like Charlemagne two years earlier~~, he ~~with~~ he didn't exactly order his people to follow him into the new faith - he left no doubt that he expected them to - and the whole nation became Christian. ^{the island's} Even ~~new Christian~~ laws ~~were~~ - the old traditional ~~and~~ pagan laws, ~~was~~ of sacrifice and ~~other~~ ~~was~~ and island culture were set aside and new Christian laws established.

Isn't this just repeating
 This is all the old missionary mistakes of church history? repeated,
 The conversion of the Roman empire - ^{political ease} ~~with Constantine~~ of the ~~conversion~~ of the faith early, pure Christianity; claiming ~~that~~ God ^{was} on his side in battle, and ^{victorious, going on to politicize and secularize} ~~then political secularization~~ early, ^{radical biblical} ~~the~~ Xian. ^{Or} ~~And~~ Charlemagne, converting the Saxons by the sword and by ^{at the ~~conversion~~ ~~mission~~ ~~empire~~} ~~deceit~~. And Christian legislation ~~was~~ ~~imposed~~ ~~over~~ the ~~simple~~ ~~natural~~ ~~laws~~ of the ~~islands~~.

To return to this remarkable parallel between the Christianization of Europe, which was historically significant, and the conversion of whole nations in the South Seas in the 19th c. Latin America, of course, historically later than Europe but earlier than Oceania, has seen at least nominal Christianization by nations — but that Christianization by colonization, a quite different pattern from the other two. Forman remarks that the European — Oceanic pattern of acceptance of Christianity "in which the king led his subjects unitedly into the church might have been expected in Africa as much as in the Pacific..."

"Both areas, like early medieval Europe, had non-literate religious traditions, which have usually been the traditions most open to conversion. Both Africa and the Pacific also had religions that emphasized the place of ancestral spirits, more than the place of any universal deity... But despite these similarities Africa did not make [the same] kind of response to xty that was found in the Pacific and in Europe. For the most part African conversions were of individuals or family groups apart from their sociopolitical community." (p. 2)

Even where African rulers did become Christian, as in Buganda or Rwanda, "he did not succeed in bringing his people with him as a united body into the church." An exception might be Botswana, and the Nguni people.

Yet this was the usual pattern in Polynesia, observes Forman.

World

deserted their native villages. In 1950, only three African cities had populations of more than 500,000; now there are 29. Many African sociologists see the phenomenon as a primary cause of social disintegration; young Africans in particular discard tribal values and disciplines for an urban-centered culture of Coca-Cola and transistor radios. For many Africans there is a growing awareness that tribal life was the source of tradition, of social and spiritual values. "In the transitional society in which we live," says Eddah Gachukia, a Kenyan legislator, "there is an urgent need to establish alternative ways and means of reaching our children effectively."

Kenya's urban population, typically, doubled between 1969 and 1979. In August 1982, many Kenyans were jolted into recognition of the new reality when an apparent coup attempt by a handful of air force noncoms and some officers, assisted by university students, degenerated into

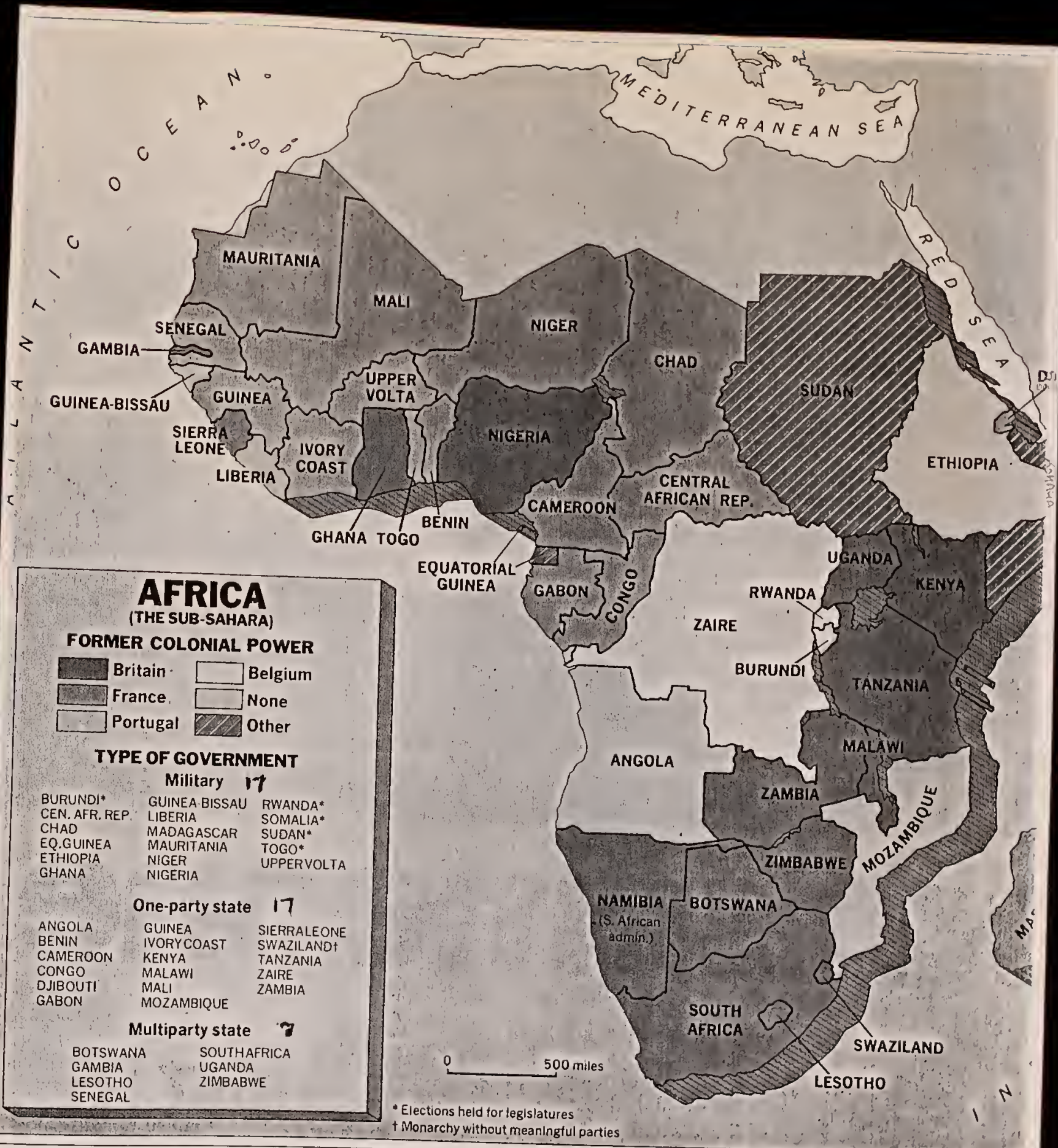
a mindless rampage through Nairobi. Youngsters smashed windows and shot up the lobby of the Hilton Hotel, a ready symbol of Western affluence. After taking over the radio station, the rioters were unable to find suitable martial music for the occasion. They ended up broadcasting the lilting strains of Bob Marley's Caribbean reggae.

Surveying a street scene in Nairobi, Trinidadian Author Shiva Naipaul (brother of V.S.) was struck by a sense of unreality among young city dwellers. In his book *North of South: An African Journey*, Naipaul describes meeting a modishly dressed student who claimed he was studying literature, but declined to name a favorite author. His reason: "I don't care much for reading." In another encounter, an aggressive shoeshine boy tried to charge him \$6 for "de-luxe special" treatment. Wrote Naipaul: "The tribal world was real. The new

world, lacking definition and solidity, fades away into the dimmer reaches of fantasy. The greed of my shoeshine boy did not . . . recognize any limits. He had lost touch with reality."

Reality may be closer for the approximately 75% of Africans who have remained in smaller towns and villages. But their awareness of their economic plight is sharp. Joshua Kweka, 28, earns \$100 a month as a clerk at a small factory that manufactures mosquito-repellent coils in the Tanzanian town of Himo (pop. 5,000), just across the border from Kenya. He shares a room near the factory with his sister, while his wife and child live with relatives on a five-acre farm 6,000 feet up the slopes of Mount Kilimanjaro. Kweka and his sister usually eat *ugali*, cooked maize meal, for lunch and dinner. Only rarely can they afford to add tomatoes, which cost \$1 per lb. With stewing beef at \$1.50 per lb., they are lucky if they can afford to eat meat once a week.





AFRICA (THE SUB-SAHARA)

FORMER COLONIAL POWER

Britain	Belgium
France	None
Portugal	Other

TYPE OF GOVERNMENT

Military 17

BURUNDI*	GUINEA BISSAU	RWANDA*
CEN. AFR. REP.	LIBERIA	SOMALIA*
CHAD	MADAGASCAR	SUDAN*
EQ. GUINEA	MAURITANIA	TOGO*
ETHIOPIA	NIGER	UPPERVOLTA
GHANA	NIGERIA	

One-party state 17

ANGOLA	GUINEA	SIERRALEONE
BENIN	IVORY COAST	SWAZILAND†
CAMEROON	KENYA	TANZANIA
CONGO	MALAWI	ZAMBIA
DJIBOUTI	MALI	
GABON	MOZAMBIQUE	

Multiparty state 7

BOTSWANA	SOUTH AFRICA
GAMBIA	UGANDA
LESOTHO	ZIMBABWE
SENEGAL	

* Elections held for legislatures
 † Monarchy without meaningful parties

See 1411

AFRICA: CONTINENT OF MIXED HOPES

My first lecture is on Africa. I should know better, having been in Africa only three times in my life. ^{Sam + try to talk to ... Africa} I might have learned a great ^{The first time was my greatest ... learn something about} deal the first time, for my guide was the great Samuel Zwemer, but alas I was only twelve at the time, and more interested in camels than in missions. Nevertheless, for the first of the McClure lectures to say nothing about Africa would be like going to Geneva to speak about Presbyterianism and fail to mention John Calvin, so if you will forgive a brief survey of Christianity today in Africa as seen by an American who knows Asia better, I will speak tonight on the subject, ^{The leader of} "Africa: Continent of Mixed Hopes".

The first question may be, Why call Africa a continent of hope at all? It was only twenty or thirty years ago, when Dr. McClure was at the high tide of his great mission, that a surprising number of Christian futurists were ready to mark off Africa as an opportunity lost. The days of Christian growth there, they said, were over. Islam was once more on the move, and the church would soon be gone with the retreat of the colonial Christian west. Already Moslem evangelists were swarming south into the vacuum with the persuasive slogan, "Islam is black; and so is Africa".

It was the lay evangelists of Islam in particular who seemed to be so frighteningly effective. Indistinguishable among the common people from traders and artisans they moved almost imperceptibly in a steady stream from the north into black Africa. Broadly tolerant of African customs and morals they were far less demanding of sharp changes and hard decisions than their uncompromising and highly visible Christian counterparts: ^{the 2 in mass conversion} It was easy to become a Moslem and potentially dangerous not to when chiefs and political powers ^{were turning} became Moslem.

In 1952 the World Christian Handbook noted with alarm that in Africa's largest country, Nigeria, in Ibadan, the then largest city in West Africa, more than half the city's population of 400,000 had been converted to Islam in only 20 years, yet Ibadan had only two Muslim primary schools and more than 20 Christian schools. ^{Muslim ... had ...} Christian education had long been the

^{See ...}
^{for the ...}
¹⁹⁻¹¹⁻¹

pride of Africa's Christian missions, but it was proving to be no match for Muslim evangelism. In some parts of West Africa the green tide of Islam was making converts at ten times the rate of the Christian church. (C. Northcott, Christianity in Africa, 1963, p. 60)

The cross, said the realists, back there in the 1950s and 1960s, will soon lose Africa to the crescent.

Others, equally pessimistic but for different reasons, attributed the inevitable decline of Christianity in Africa not so much to the resurgence of Islam as to the retreat of the west. It was commonly believed, bitterly resented, and undoubtedly partly true that at least one reason for the rapid growth of Christianity in the first half of the twentieth century was the aura of political power and technical superiority which it derived from its connection in the popular mind with the so-called "Christian" imperial regimes of Europe. These were the countries which had occupied Africa and parcelled out the continent in small pieces among themselves at the Conference of Berlin in 1884-85.

Few realize how short a time that colonial period lasted. In most of Africa not much more than sixty years. The collapse was shocking. In 1945, as Ralph Winter has graphically represented in his book The 25 Unbelievable Years, "99.5% of the non-Western world was under western domination." Only 25 years later, in 1969, "99.5% of the non-Western world was independent". Nowhere was western imperialism in more rapid recession than in Africa. In early 1951 only three African nations were independent, and only one of them had always been independent, Ethiopia. Then the first earthquake tremors of the crumbling of old empires began to shake the continent. Six African nations achieved independence in the 1950s--Libya, McClure's Sudan, and Ghana among them. After that the flood. In the one year of 1960 alone no less than 17 African nations declared themselves free and sovereign, and twelve more joined them before the 1960s ended.

The map of Africa has been so irreversibly and so completely altered that to this day westerners still have difficulty remembering the bewildering array of new names of old colonial territories. But Africans remember. The colonies lasted only 60 years; they disappeared in 20, but

the Africans remember. Colonialism is gone, for the most part, but its scars are still there. Africa ~~well~~ remembers the bitter judgment, ^{so often repeated} justified or not, that "when the white men came, they had the Bible and we had the land; now we have the Bible and they have the land."

So in the pessimistic '60s, as the colonies crumbled, as Islam advanced, and as an appealing new faith, communism, promised liberation for the oppressed and prosperity for the exploited, it seemed altogether possible that Africa would not only take back its land from the imperialists but also hand back the Bible to the missionaries and send them packing with the departing colonizers. After all, two times before in Africa's long history ~~the~~ the Christians had come for a while and then almost disappeared.

There have been three waves of Christianity in Africa. The first wave, ~~beginning~~ ^{and later} with the conversion of ~~an~~ ^{the} Ethiopian eunuch who found Christ in the Old Testament through the witness of a lay evangelist, Philip, and swept across North Africa to the Pacific and down along the Red Sea on the east. Augustine, Tertullian, Cyprian were all Africans. But the fall of Rome and the rise of Islam in the 7th century wiped out that first foothold of Christian advance. North Africa, "first romanized, then Christianized", ^{then Islamized} ~~and~~ became a stronghold of ~~Islam~~. ^{massive Muhammadanism}

For the next nine hundred years Africa was almost untouched by any fresh Christian advance. Two pockets only were left, the Coptic ghettos of Egypt and the ancient Christian kingdom of the Lion of the Tribe of Judah, Ethiopia. Not until the Portuguese at the end of the 15th century opened their "age of discovery" did a second wave carry the church down the thin fringe of the African coasts, on the west as far south as the Kongo, and on the east to Mozambique. Western church history has largely forgotten the fragile Christian kingdoms of Central Africa which flourished in the 16th century, the realm of Manikongo covering much of what is now the Congo, Zaire and Angola; and the golden kingdom, briefly Christian, of Monomotapa, the king of what is now part of Mozambique and Zimbabwe. The black King of the Kongo, Affonso, not only sought the conversion of all his people, he sent his son to Lisbon to be educated and ordained a priest. In 1521 the pope himself consecrated the royal prince bishop for all the Kongo. But

in 1521 Pope Leo X was understandably perhaps more concerned about what was happening in Germany and about a dissident monk named Luther, than about a tribal king in the Kongo. The mission languished, and not even a Christian African queen, Queen Zinga of Motamba, a hundred years later (1648-1665) was able to revive it.

The third wave of Christian advance in Africa, the greatest of them all, is the one we best remember. It began, for Protestants, as usual with the Moravians in 1737. The Dutch noted ^{the} ~~his~~ ^{of the first missionary} arrival with approval but no great optimism: "There has come to land here a certain person named George Schmidt, with the purpose--if that be possible--of converting the Hottentots.." In the great missionary century, the 19th, the wave continued with Moffat in the south, and ^{the 19th century} Livingstone's epoch-making and agonizing journeys to open up the heart of the continent to the gospel. It is sometimes forgotten that the missionaries ^{of the 19th century} did not come to Central Africa ~~then~~ with the colonizers but before them, and they came not to colonize but to evangelize, and not only to evangelize but to make free. They came to stop the slave trade, as Livingstone never ceased to remind both whites and Arabs.

Nevertheless, it remains true that the roads the missionary explorers opened were the roads that Europe used to occupy the land. Eleven years after Livingstone's death the Berlin Congress divided up Africa among the colonial powers. That was yesterday; today, beginning in 1951 Africa began to take back its land for the Africans. Jomo Kenyatta, ~~for example~~, came out of a British jail in Kenya to found a new nation. He was asked by some Quaker visitors whether, now that his country was independent, he ^{considered himself} was a Kikuyu (his tribe) or a Kenyan. Kenyatta replied, "I am an African". (A. Hastings, Christianity in Africa, p. 13)

As the western empires fell, ^{and Africa found itself independent} it seemed obvious to many ~~as we~~ ~~have seen~~, that the church would fall with them, and that another Christian wave would go out with the tide in the 20th century, as in the 7th century and the 17th long before.

But it was precisely in this time of general pessimism that a "rash, redheaded and religious" missionary on the tributaries of the upper Nile launched a mission of Christian advance, not retreat. In 1952 ^{a few years} Don McClure was too busy opening up ^{new} Christian work ^{to} reach ^{the} Anuak tribe on the Sudan-Ethiopia frontier to be discouraged by the fall of empires. The story is told of him that two Anuaks were watching him build an addition to his house. (Why beat about the bush. Don McClure was not one to mince words. It was an outhouse, and that is what he called it, a latrine, not "an addition"). Well, it caved in. The cement sides collapsed, and one of the Anuaks, superstitious like most of his fellows, said, "Look, the foreigner is cursed. His house fell down. Now he will have to abandon it." "You're crazy," said the other black. "You don't know that man. When something happens to us we sit down and cry. But when something happens to him, he just laughs, and then he prays, and God starts to work for him." (Fairman, "Red-headed, Rash and Religious", p. 91 f.)

In a sense that is what has occurred in Africa in the last thirty years. The sides were falling in, and some sat down and cried, but some, like McClure and the African Christians on that continent in upheaval refused to accept change as disaster, and went on working and praying "expecting great things of God". And contrary to all expectations, their faith and perseverance was rewarded "by the power at work within them", as the Bible says, "who is able to do far more abundantly than all that we ask or think" (Eph. 3:20).

What has happened to the Christian church in Africa in those years is almost incredible. Islam was still threatening, and the colonial powers which were thought by the suspicious to be the only support of the church were gone. But the cross was not swallowed up by the crescent, and the church did not disappear. Actually, as one careful observer of the history of European colonialism has pointed out, it was not Christianity which was supported by colonialism. Robert Delavignette, a former Commissioner for Native Affairs in the French government, and a member of the French Economic Council, after pointing out some exceptions, as in the former Belgian Congo, wrote that more often "the favors of the colonial power were reserved for a religion other than Christianity; to be precise

SIM Now. (Cedar Grove N.Y.) Nov. Dec. 1986

Christian-Muslim balance tips

JOS, Nigeria (SIM) — Christians now outnumber Muslims in Nigeria, says a report from leaders of churches in the nation's 10 northern states.

The report was issued following a two-day seminar held here to study Christian response to government action in making the nation a member of the Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC) without public discussion or debate.

The report presented statistics from National Population Bureau research, which indicate a steady growth in Christianity. In (1952-53) Christians accounted for 22 percent of the population, Muslims 44 percent, and "others" 34 percent.

By (1963) Christians had increased to 34.5 percent, Muslims to 47.2 percent, and others had decreased to 18.3 percent.

By (1981-82) the figures showed 44.9 percent Christian, 45.9 percent Muslim, and 9.6 percent others.

"Using simple statistical projections, the situation as per (1986) is Christians 51 percent, Muslims 45 percent, and others 4 percent," the report stated.

Membership in OIC "offends various chapters of the Nigerian constitution," the report said, calling on the government to "pull out with immediate effect."

Islam. It could even be maintained", he continued, "rather paradoxically, that the only religion whose progress has been assisted by colonialism is Islam." (Christianity and Colonialism, N.Y., 1964, p. 83).

That may be an overstatement. The point need not be argued. But the fact remains that after the retreat of the colonial west in Africa from 1950 on, Islam ceased to expand beyond normal rates of population increase, and it was the African ^{Christian} churches which exploded into an age of accelerated growth such as they had never seen before.

The total number of African Christians in the churches in 1900 may have been as many as 8½ million, which was about ^{8%} of the continent's population. Almost half of those were the Orthodox Coptic Christians of Ethiopia and Egypt. Catholics and Protestants together numbered only about 4 million, or ^{between 1% & 4%} 3% of Africa's people. That was in 1900. (Barrett, World Christian Encyclopedia, Oxford, 1982, p. 791, col. 6)

[The figures, based on church affiliated Christians, are:

Continental population	107,854,000
Roman Catholics	1,909,712
Protestants, incl. Angl. and non-wh ind.	2,245,610
Orthodox	4,600,250
Total African Christians	8,756,372]

By 1952 the number of Protestants and Catholics had climbed to 25½ million or 17% of the population, as compared to 4 million (3%) in 1900. This was a remarkable growth of which the modern missionary movement could justly be proud, but the sense of accomplishment was tinged with apprehension. This was also the time when it was being told that the era of growth was over. How wrong the prophets were! The latest Christian Handbook, a mammoth volume just published this year and now called the World Christian Encyclopaedia (ed. by David Barrett, an "evangelical, conciliar Anglican" as he calls himself) shows that instead of shrinking and withering away, the number of Christians in the churches of Africa has exploded in these last 30 critical years from 30 million (adding about 5 million Orthodox to 15½ million Catholics and 9½ million Protestants) in 1952 to more than 203 million today. Instead of 8% of Africa's population in 1900, and 20% in

That is
17% 99%
8½ m

17-20%
30 million

1980-44%
203 million

1/2 10%

20% in 1952, the percentage of Christians in the continent's population is now 44%. And if present trends continue, only 18 years from now, in 2000 AD the World Christian Encyclopedia estimates there will be 393 million Christians in Africa, ^{Then} and one out of every two Africans will profess adherence to the Christian faith. (p.782 using statistics for "adherents" not "affiliates").

What ~~then~~ happened to the predicted sweep of Islam in Africa? The numbers do show a modest increase, not a decline. Islam grew from 32% of all Africans in 1900 to 41% in 1980; ^{but} and in recent decades the growth has been largely biological, not new outreach, barely keeping up with population growth (41% of the population in 1970; 41.2% in 1980). The crescent's advance has slowed to a crawl. It is ~~not~~ longer breaking out into central Africa, but is ^{largely} limited as it has been for most of the last thirteen hundred years to Africa's northern rim. Over the last 80 years, the continent's population increased 4½ times; the Muslims 5½ times; but the Christians 20½ times.

	1900	1980
Population	107,900,000	460,900,000
Christian adherents	9,938,000 (9.2%)	203,490,000 (44.2%)
Muslim adherents	34,531,000 (32%)	189,728,000 (41.2%)

It is no exaggeration to say that the Christian faith is spreading faster in Africa than on any other continent in the world. Every day 16,400 new African Christians are added, 6 million every year, many through the growth of Christian families, but 1½ million by conversion and adult ^{turning to} acceptance of Jesus Christ as Saviour and Lord. Highly significant is ~~the fact that~~ the conversions are coming ^{mostly} from the native African religions. As spectacular as ^{the fall of colonialism} has been Christian growth in this century, ~~equally~~ spectacular has been the collapse of the ^{pagan} native tribal religions. ~~It is~~ not so apparent in a comparison of numbers, which simply shows ~~no perceptible~~ growth (63 million to 64 million in 80 years). But the population increase has ~~crushed the pagan cults~~ from 58% of the African people in 1900 to only 14% in 1980. (pp. 7, 782)

79 11

But before you begin to misunderstand me, let me remind you with some force that numbers are not one of the marks of the true church. ~~I do not want to exaggerate the importance of statistics like this.~~ The fastest growing churches are not always the best. Faith, truth, love and zeal are the hope of the church in Africa, not numbers. But at the same time experience forces me to add that in general it is the churches with a solid mix of faith, truth love and zeal that grow, and those without that indispensable mixture tend to decline. So over the long haul, sustained church growth is not a bad measure of the church's inner strength.

But to say that the church is growing in Africa, while grounds for encouragement, is not enough for the kind of hope ^{the} that Hebrews calls "the anchor of our souls". What kind of a church is this growing African church?

First let me make a general observation, and throw just one more touch of statistics into the air. African Christianity today is 40% Roman Catholic, 30% Protestant (and Anglican); and 14% Orthodox. The Roman Catholics are growing faster than the Protestants, and the Protestants faster than the Orthodox. By the year 2000 AD it is estimated that the Catholics will have added 30 million more adherents to their church than Protestants will add in that same 18 year period. This raises questions about a difference between Roman Catholic missions policy and Protestant strategies. While Protestants debated a moratorium on western missionaries to Africa, and the number of denominational missionaries fell sharply, the Roman Catholics were steadily increasing their missionary force, and their churches prospered.

But I hasten to add an even more startling fact which forbids any easy generalizations linking church growth ^{with} to the number of missionaries. You may have noticed that those percentages for Catholic, Protestant and Orthodox did not add up to 100. ^{Why?} The reason is vital for any understanding of African Christianity today. ~~They add up to only 84% of Africa's Christians because~~ Missiologists have identified a whole new major ecclesiastical category within the African Christian movement, ~~--or for that matter in the whole "third world", but~~

~~most astonishingly in Africa.~~ To the familiar triad Catholic, Orthodox and Protestant, the new World Christian Encyclopaedia has added a highly significant new grouping which it rather awkwardly calls "Non-White Indigenous", ~~but~~ In Africa, is usually referred to as "African Independent". These are churches which have deliberately disavowed or ^{have} never had a connection with the historic white churches of the west through the missionary movement. They have been described as "often schismatic, separatist, anti-establishment, sometimes anti-western" and we might add, often heretical by our strict theological standards. ~~They are a mixed hope, not easy to evaluate.~~ But they are the fastest-growing segment of the fastest-growing Continental Christian movement in the world, the church in Africa. David Barrett of Nairobi has identified 6,000 of them, -not 6,000 congregations, but 6,000 different denominational clusters of African Independent churches.

They go by strange names, ~~some of them~~: the Mission of God of the Candle ("Bougist"), ~~for example~~, which not too many years ago accounted for 10% of the whole population of the now Marxist People's Republic of the Congo (Brazzaville); and the God's All Times Association in Ethiopia, and the Emissaries of Divine Light in Ghana, and the Lost Israelites of Kenya, and the 300,000 member Eternal Sacred Order of Cherubim and Seraphim in Nigeria. Some years ago Ray Phillips, in his book, The Bantu Are Coming, told of one young man who could not quite remember the name of the church to which he belonged. Finally he took Ray to his room and pointed to a painted board above his bed, "The Holy Apostolik Church in Zion Up to Date"!

^{Such a} ~~The~~ parade of names makes mainline Christians ~~like us~~ smile, but the time is long past when Methodists, Episcopalians and Presbyterians can patronize the independents. In Africa in just these last thirty years of growth, the ^{se} independents, late on the scene though they are, have overtaken in numbers the once-dominant Anglicans and Presbyterians. They are more than twice the size of the Anglican church in Africa; and almost four times the number of Presbyterian and Reformed ^{EVERY} (including South Africa!).

Non-white indigenous	24,457,000	"affiliated".
Anglican	10,674,000	"
Presbyterian and Reformed	6,539,000	"

There is still too much bizarre and cultic chaff among the wheat in this new independent African Christianity. [Dr. McClure's letters are full of ^{reference to a} subtle and lingering power of witchcraft even among new Christians.] But there is a power too in their midst that comes from simple faith and Biblical insights however faultily grasped, and a harmonious identification ^{of the Gospel} with their own natural culture that is not always as spiritually and theologically uncritical as some outside ^{observers} critics have contended.

Not all African Independent churches fit the stereotype: charismatic, unstable, anti-missionary, syncretistic, separatist and heretical. The forerunner of them all, Prophet Harris, the black missionary from Liberia to the Ivory Coast back in 1910 did not speak in tongues, founded no new church, discouraged any personality cult, preferred British colonialism to Liberian independence and was fiercely loyal to the missionaries. In his white robe, white turban, carrying a Bible, a bamboo cross and a gourd of water for baptism, he trudged from village to village. Adrian Hastings tells how the people would ask, "Are you the great spirit of whom they speak?" And he would reply, "No I am a man coming in the name of God, and I am going to baptize you in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost" (African Christianity, p. 10). Then he would tell them, "I must go on now, but one day the missionaries will come to show you the way". When the missionaries came ten years later, it was almost too late. Thousands had waited, and today's great Methodist church on the west coast is built on the foundation that Prophet Harris laid, but other thousands could not wait. An independent Harrist movement sprang up which is now even larger than the Methodist churches in the Ivory Coast.

The greatest of the African Independent churches does not fit the stereotype either. With a constituency of three and a half million, which is larger than the United Presbyterian Church U.S.A., the Church of Jesus Christ on Earth through the Prophet Simon Kimbangu of Zaire is the second largest Protestant denomination in any African country. (Par-
enthetically, ~~I might say here that the four largest such denominations~~

→ see "The
Legacy of the West
Harris' church."

26. Hodges, *A Theology*, pp. 15-19.

27. *Ibid.*, pp. 136-40.

28. Paul Anthony Pomerville, "Pentecostalism and Missions: Distortion or Correction? The Pentecostal Contribution to Contemporary Mission Theology" (Ph.D. dissertation, Fuller Theological Seminary School of World Mission, 1982).

29. McGee, "This Gospel," pp. 262-64.

30. Morris O. Williams, "Philosophy of Missions," Springfield, Mo., 1984. (Mimeographed.)

31. Debbie Lazaro, "Highlights of the AGAMA Conference," *AGAMA News and Notes*, January-March 1982, p. 2.

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The Legacy of William Wadé Harris

David A. Shank

In 1911 Monsignor Jules Moury, vicar apostolic in charge of the Roman Catholic mission in the Ivory Coast, frankly despaired of the future of the church in the neglected French colony. The priests of the Missions Africaines de Lyon had arrived on the Gulf of Guinea in 1895 and after more than fifteen years with the help of brothers and sisters from two orders had expended a number of lives and much charity to build a chain of eight major stations along the eastern coast of the Ivory Coast. But they had yielded a slim harvest of only 2,000 baptized souls, and the tribal peoples along the coast were clearly not turning to the Light of Christ.

By contrast, three years later in his annual report of 1914, Moury was almost lyrical: "Space is lacking here for exposing the external means which Divine Providence has used for the accomplishment of His merciful designs. I must thus limit myself to exposing the effects. These effects—it's a whole people who, having destroyed its fetishes, invades our churches en masse, requesting Holy Baptism."¹

The means that Divine Providence had used was the Glebo prophet William Wadé Harris, who had left Cape Palmas, Liberia, on July 27, 1913 and headed east across the Cavally River, which separated Liberia and the Ivory Coast, in obedience—as he maintained—to Christ's commission in Matthew 28:19. Accompanied by two women disciples—excellent singers playing calabash rattles—he visited village after village, calling the coastal people to abandon and destroy their "fetishes," to turn to the one true and living God, to be baptized and forgiven by the Savior; he then taught them to follow the commandments of God, to live in peace, and organized them for prayer and worship of God in their own languages, music, and dance, to await the "white man with the Book" and the new times that were to come.

In 1926, when missionary methods and their effectiveness were discussed at the international conference at Le Zoute, Bel-

gium, Dr. Edwin W. Smith, former missionary to Rhodesia, wryly remarked:

The man who should have talked at Le Zoute about preaching to Africans is the prophet Harris who flashed like a meteor through parts of West Africa a few years ago. Africa's most successful evangelist, he gathered in a few months a host of converts exceeding in number the total church membership of all the missions in Nyasaland now after fifty years of work. What was his method?²

At the time of Smith's writing, the prophet's legacy was still a recent and almost unbelievable fact in Western missionary experience and literature: more than 100,000 tribal Africans baptized within eighteen months, with many of them ready to be taught by the "white man with the Book" ten years after the event. It is not altogether inappropriate today to take a new look at the prophet and his mission, described quite recently by one Catholic historian as "the most extraordinarily successful one man evangelical crusade that Africa has ever known."³ In earlier years C. P. Groves⁴ had pointed to "three notable missionary figures" during World War I in French Africa: Charles de Foucauld in the Sahara, Albert Schweitzer in the rain forests of Gabon, and the prophet Harris evangelizing the pagan tribes of the Ivory Coast. The first two are well known through their writings, their work, and much that has been written about them by their interpreters. But for the African Harris, who left no writings except a half-dozen short dictated messages, the legacy is written only in the historical consequences of his work and ministry; the perspective of seven decades is most helpful in understanding it.

Who Was William Wadé Harris?

In the immediate wake of his ministry of 1913-14, Harris's work was cursorily dismissed by the Catholic missionaries as that of an unscrupulous charlatan carrying out a "Protestant plot" against their mission. In the Gold Coast, Methodist missionaries and African pastors were divided in their appreciation of the man about whom they knew practically nothing, save that he had earlier related to the Methodist church in Liberia. The 1924 arrival in the Ivory Coast of the English Wesleyan Methodist Missionaries

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and their assumption of Harris's succession made them the major source for knowledge of the man. Research in recent years has filled in many gaps of information and understanding, and we now have a fuller understanding of the man behind the prophet.⁵

Until the age of twelve years, Wadé (who was born around 1860) lived in a traditional Glebo village on the littoral east of Cape Palmas, Liberia. Son of a "heathen father," he claimed to be "born Methodist," indicating that it was at a time when conversion meant leaving the "heathen village" for the Christian village on the other side of the lagoon at Half-Graway. Wadé's mother quite exceptionally lived her life of faith in the midst of traditional family life with its sacrifices, divination, witchcraft, and the influences of the "country doctor." The other major exposure to Christianity during this traditional period was the common but ineffective evangelistic foray into the village by Episcopalian missionaries.

A second period, with intense exposure to "civilization," came during his adolescence. This included six years with his maternal uncle, the Rev. John C. Lowrie, who took him as a pupil and apprentice into his Methodist pastor-schoolmaster's home in Sinoe, among the immigrant Liberians, outside Glebo territory and outside the influences of traditional life. Lowrie was a former slave, converted and educated at Freetown, and was a remarkable preacher as well as teacher. He baptized Wadé, no doubt gave him the name of William Harris, and taught him to read and write both Glebo and English. Though unconverted during this period, Harris was marked permanently by Lowrie's faith, piety, discipline, and biblical culture as well as his role in society as a man of the Bible. This period concluded with four trips by Harris as a *kroo-boy* (a crew member, sometimes of Kroo ethnic background) on British and German merchant vessels going to Lagos and Gabon, and a stint as headman of *kroo-boys* working in the gold mines inland from Axim in the Gold Coast.

During a time of revival in Harper at Cape Palmas, when he was about twenty-one years of age, Harris was converted in the Methodist church under the summons from Revelation 2:5 ("Remember from whence thou art fallen and repent") by the Liberian preacher Rev. Mr. Thompson. "The Holy Ghost came upon me. The very year of my conversion I started preaching," he reported many years later. This new Christian period was marked by his Christian marriage in 1885 to Rose Farr, the daughter of Episcopalian catechist John Farr, from the Christian village of Half-Graway. Harris, a stonemason, built their home in the village and it bore all the marks of a "civilized Christian": sheet-iron roof, second story, shuttered windows, fireplace, and so forth. In 1888 he was confirmed in the Episcopal church by the first Liberian bishop, Samuel D. Ferguson. At the time, the Methodist church was weakening and was chiefly Liberian, while the Episcopal church was financially strong and worked especially among the Glebo. Indeed, Harris later was to condemn his action, taken "for money." But with additional schooling, and a breakthrough in 1892 when the tribe agreed to observe the Sabbath (the bishop called it "the sharp edge of our Gospel wedge") Harris was appointed assistant teacher and catechist to his native village.

In a context of upward mobility within "civilization and Christianity," Harris was to be a regularly paid agent of the Episcopalian structures for more than fifteen years, until the end of 1908. First a simple catechist, then charged with a village Sunday school, he became a lay reader and eventually a junior warden in his church; in the school he moved from assistant teacher to teacher and thence to head of the small boarding school where his father-in-law and brother-in-law had preceded him. Outside the mission and church circles, he became official government

interpreter in 1899 and enjoyed the prestige of go-between for local Liberian officials and the indigenous Glebo populations.

Tragically this whole period was marked by intensive conflict between indigenous and immigrant Americanized blacks. If at the beginning Harris was committed to the "civilizing" pressures of the Episcopal church and the foreign patterns of the Liberian republic, it is also quite clear that halfway through the period a major shift in his loyalties was starting to take place. In 1903 he was temporarily suspended as head of the school and then reinstated in 1905, but his sympathies were very clearly in favor of the Glebo people against the Liberian regime, which was fully supported by the bishop despite its unreadiness to assimilate fully the "Glebo dogs."

Two important patterns of thought were at work in Harris during this evolution. The highly influential Dr. Edward Blyden, born in the Virgin Islands and prominent in Liberia—the best-educated and most articulate black of that period, constantly belabored the ineffectiveness and cultural imperialism of Western missions and firmly promoted an autonomous pan-African church; at the same time he was convinced that the political salvation of Liberia could come only by way of a British protectorate. And in Cape Palmas, Blyden's friend, the secessionist priest Samuel Seton, had created already in 1887 a separatist "Christ church" under the influence of the United States religious leader Charles T. Russell, founder of the group later to be known as Jehovah's Witnesses, whose apocalyptic writings were flooding the region despite the opposition of Bishop Samuel Ferguson.

During the last half of 1908, calling himself the "secretary of the Graway people," Harris engaged in threats and violence and the use of the occult in order to manipulate local Glebo chiefs in favor of the British, against the republic. In February 1909, when a coup d'état involving Blyden failed in Monrovia, co-conspirator Harris—at the risk of his life—was flying the Union Jack at Cape Palmas in expectation of the immediate British takeover for which he had labored. His arrest, imprisonment at Harper (Cape Palmas), Liberia, trial, and condemnation for treason led to a \$500 fine and a two-year prison term, for which he was paroled after making monetary payment for all the penalties against him. But he had lost his job with the Episcopal church and with the Liberian authorities for whom he had worked for nine years.

Defying the terms of his parole, William Harris preached vigorously against the Liberian regime, helping to stir up and arm the local population. When war broke out in January 1910, he was back in prison, no doubt for nonrespect of his parole. The war, won by Liberian troops supported by a United States warship, was a complete debacle for the Glebo—fleeing population, plundered villages, fines, forced resettlement—and the most expensive war the young republic had conducted. Harris was in prison, despondent over the turn of events, and it was there around June 1910 that his prophetic future was determined.

The Vocation of the Prophet Harris

A trance-visitation of the angel Gabriel in a wave of light was to William Wadé Harris like a second conversion. During three appearances, he was told that he was to be prophet of the last times; he was to abandon his civilized clothing, including his patent-leather shoes, and don a white robe; he was to destroy fetishes, beginning with his own; he was to preach Christian baptism. His wife would die after giving him six shillings to provide for his travel anywhere; and though he was not thereafter to have a church marriage, he believed God would give him others to help him in his mission. He then received in a great wave of light an anointing from God where the Spirit came down like water on

his head—three times. "It was like ice on my head and all my skin," he later reported.

The Gold Coast barrister Casely Hayford spoke with the prophet at great length in Axim, in July 1914, and was deeply impressed.

Of his call he speaks with awe. It seems as if God made the soul of Harris a soul of fire. . . . He has learnt the lesson of those whose lips have been touched by live coal from the altar to sink himself in God. . . . When we are crossed in ordinary life we never forgive. When God crosses our path and twists our purposes unto his own, he can make a mere bamboo cross a power unto the reclaiming of souls. God has crossed the path of this humble Grebo man and he has had the sense to yield. He has suffered his will to be twisted out of shape and so he carries about the symbol of the cross.⁶

The man who in 1908 used whatever violent or occult means were at his disposal to achieve the political autonomy of his people was said to have reported six and a half years later: "I am a prophet above all religions and freed from the control of men. I depend only upon God through the intermediary of the Angel Gabriel who initiated me to my mission of modern last times—of the era of peace about which St. John speaks in the 20th chapter of Revelation, peace of a thousand years whose arrival is at hand."⁷

The young man who had begun his civilized Christian faith and ministry together at the age of twenty-one, had compromised it "for money," for a future that led him finally into the morass of political duplicity and manipulation and the way of occult violence for achieving the liberation of his people. Stopped suddenly by events he had helped to precipitate he was turned back, as it were, to his original task of preaching, but turned forward in absolute confidence of the coming peaceful kingdom of Christ. "Christ must reign," he insisted. "I am his prophet." But this time it was also as a liberated African to fellow Africans rather than as a "civilized" person to the barbarians.

Convinced through Russellite influences that Christ was soon to bring in the kingdom of peace, Harris predicted World War I as a judgment on the civilized world, and then announced a difficult period of seven years, before everything was to be transformed in the reign of Christ. Seeing himself as the Elijah of Malachi 4, he felt he had appeared before the great and dreadful day of the Lord in order to prepare the people for the coming kingdom of peace, during which he was to be the judge responsible for West Africa. His mission was to prepare his constituency through preaching of repentance and baptism and peace, so the Lord would know his own. He had renounced political machination and violence but not a political vision; rather, he had reordered its character and its means and was committed to advance through preaching what would come through the Lord's own doing. He saw as his marching order Christ's Great Commission in Matthew 28:19-20.

Except for his identification with Elijah, the seven-year dating of the arrival of the kingdom and his own judgeship in it (none of which he imposed upon others), Harris had been caught up in the very un-African eschatological dynamics of New Testament messianism and its spirit, with which he was mightily empowered. The politician Casely Hayford insisted:

You come to him with a heart full of bitterness, and when he is finished with you all the bitterness is gone out of your soul. . . . Why, he calls upon the living God. He calms, under God, the troubled soul. He casts out strife. He allays bitterness. He brings joy and lightness of soul to the despairing. This thing must be of God. He attaches no importance to himself. . . . He is the soul of humility.⁸

Twenty years ago, when the historian Gordon Haliburton visited

village after village in the Ivory Coast seeking out the old men who could tell him about their memories of the prophet Harris, more than once he was told, "He taught us to live in peace."

Harris's Mission

After his liberation from prison in June 1910, Harris immediately began his prophetic ministry. Briefly reimprisoned, then released, he went up and down the Liberian coast preaching repentance and baptism with apparently only a limited success prior to his Ivory Coast and Gold Coast adventures. There, dressed in a white cassock and turban with a cross-topped staff in one hand and a Bible and baptismal bowl in the other, he cut a striking and original figure as he attacked the local spiritual powers, disarming their practitioners, often in a contest where he proved to be the most powerful. In response all the village people would bring their religious artifacts to be burned; then they would kneel for baptism while grasping the cross, and receive a tap of confirmation with the prophet's Bible. The prophet then taught the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and on occasion the Apostle's Creed. Migrant Methodist clerks from Sierra Leone and the Gold Coast working in coastal commercial activity were stirred up to follow through with the ministry. Elsewhere the prophet instructed each village to build a simple place of worship, and he would name twelve apostles to govern the new religious community. Where there was a Catholic mission, or the very rare congregation of foreign Methodists, he encouraged people to go there to be taught by men of God. His ministry was accompanied by remarkable healings and strange wonders: the burning of a ship when *kroo-boy* laborers were not discharged from Sunday work; the deaths in rapid succession of the administrator who chased him out of the French colony into the Gold Coast, and of his sergeant who had beaten the prophet; the falling of a church tower after a Catholic priest had dismissed him haughtily; the sudden deaths of those who were baptized but had only hidden, not destroyed, their fetishes. As the rumors of Harris's power and wonders preceded him, masses of people were prepared for his coming and sought him out. In the western Gold Coast, the British administrator could scarcely believe the moral and sanitary transformation that had taken place in villages that he knew so well.

Despite his having been arrested and imprisoned three times in the Ivory Coast, the prophet returned there from the Gold Coast because he felt that God had commanded him to do so. The masses flocked to him in Grand Bassam and Bingerville where again his baptizing was often accompanied by spectacular exorcism and healing. World War I had been declared in early August 1914, and in the French colony missionary priests and colonial administrators answered the call to arms. A religio-political movement was under way that was controlled neither by the Catholic mission nor by the French administration. Harris and his three women were arrested, imprisoned, severely beaten and, a month later (January 1915), expelled by the same authorities who had earlier recognized their public utility. The prophet had, in fact, preached submission to authorities under God's law, denounced alcohol abuse, and had clearly affected the moral climate of the populations by his denunciation of adultery. Back in Liberia in early 1915, one of his singers, the young widow Helen Valentine, died as a result of the beatings she had received during her mission with the prophet.

Eight times Harris attempted to return to the Ivory Coast but was always stopped by the colonial authorities. But he went up and down the Liberian coast with his mission, often penetrating into the interior where missionaries had never gone. He went to

Sierra Leone three times on foot: in 1917, 1919, and 1921. His ministry in Liberia, even if it gave problems to the Methodist missionary Walter B. Williams because of their differences over polygamous marriage, nevertheless provoked a mass "revival movement" in 1915 and the years following. Harris did not denounce polygamy, but accepted it as a fact of African life, and this led to continuing problems with the Methodist groups and others.

In 1925 the prophet suffered a stroke, from which he only partially recovered; yet he continued his pilgrim ministry in the interior. When he was visited in 1926 by missionary Pierre Benoit from the Methodist mission, he had just returned from a mission where he had baptized over 500 people. Benoit's contact grew out of the 1924 discovery by British Methodists of the fruits of Harris's labors in the Ivory Coast, which opened a new chapter in missionary history: admitting the facts, accepting the responsibility for the legacy of the "Harrist Protestants," restructuring and absorbing them, teaching and disciplining them. Not all the baptized accepted the new Methodist government of their church life, and Benoit brought back from the aging prophet a Methodist-inspired "testament" to clinch the succession, and urge the hesitant into the Methodist fold.

In 1927 the prophet received in his Spring Hill home a delegation of Adjukrou leaders from the Ivory Coast for counsel about accepting Methodist control, and Harris supported the latter against the traditionalist "prophet" Aké. But in December 1928 Harris received another delegation from the Ivory Coast complaining of Methodist disciplines in family and finance. At this final meeting the prophet clearly indicated his disappointment with the Methodist controls and charged a young Ebrié chorister, Jonas Ahui, from the village congregation at Petit Basam to "begin again." Harris dictated a message to Ahui's father, the village chief who had been puzzled about how to respond to the missionary presence. To the village chief, the prophet asserted the validity of polygamy if God's law was followed, and denounced the taking of money for religious services performed. Harris was eager to return to the Ivory Coast but could not, for he was "about to go home." But he predicted a new war for France, warned about going to Europe, and referred again to Malachi 4. "If you say you are for God you have to suffer many tribulations. Never give up your God. . . . You must always have God before you. It is he who will guide you in all temptation: do not forsake or leave your God to save your life. . . . I am yours in Christ."

In April 1929 the prophet died at close to seventy years of age, worn out and in total poverty. It is said that the simple Christian funeral in the village of Spring Hill was presided over by the local Episcopalian minister. Five of his six children, and numerous grandchildren, survived Harris. Today, an improvised but whitewashed cement "tombstone" in the Spring Hill village cemetery bears the crude hand-engraved epitaph: "In loving memory of Propha Wadé Harris born ——— died in the year 1928 June 15 Erected by one Abraham Kwang in the year 1968." The local word is that where before there had been only a simple marker, a man from Ghana had made the cement tomb marker out of respect and homage for the prophet who years earlier had raised up his mother three days after her death.

The Legacy

It should be pointed out as a preface to a summary of the Harris legacy that, when compared to other African prophets and their movements, his impact was exceptional: in its massive inter-tribal and inter-colonial character; in its precedence to or major contribution to missionary Christianity; in Harris's initial positive at-

titude to both British and French colonial regimes, despite his preprophetic negative approach to the black Liberian regime. These unique features condition the legacy in unusual ways.

Harris's work brought about a massive break with the external practices of traditional African religions all along the coast: disappearance of fetishes; disappearance of ritual sacrifices; disappearance of a variety of "taboos" about days and places; disappearance of lascivious dance; the "taming" of traditional festivals; disappearance of huts for isolating women during their menstrual periods; transformation of burial and funeral practices. Ten years after the passage of Harris, the English missionaries observed the great differences between the Ivory Coast and Dahomey or Togo, which they knew so well. It was described in 1922 by the colonial administrator Captain Paul Marty as a "religious fact, almost unbelievable, which has upset all the ideas we had about black societies of the Coast—so primitive, so rustic—and which with our occupation and as a consequence of it will be the most important political and social event of ten centuries of history, past, present or future of the maritime Ivory Coast."⁹

There was created a new indigenous lay religious movement covering a dozen ethnic groups and involving new patterns of unity in the midst of diversity: one God, one theocentric law (the Ten Commandments), one day (Sunday) one book (the Bible), one symbol (the cross), one baptism (break with "fetishes"), one place of worship, one institution (church leadership by "twelve apostles"). Here prayer, including the "Our Father," and transformed traditional song and dance replaced sacrifice and fetish worship. Although different from European Protestantism and Catholicism, it was fed by foreign African lay Christians and constituted a reality so substantial that for Catholic missionaries in 1921 it "threatened" to make of the Ivory Coast a "Protestant nation."

There was a "take-off" of the Catholic mission along the Guinea coast. By 1923 the Ivory Coast church counted 13,000 members and over 10,000 catechumens. The official report of 1925 recognized Harris as the instrument given "to operate the salvation of the Ivory Coast—or at least to begin it." Father Bedal of Korhogo in the north lamented the fact that Harris had not got there to facilitate the evangelization of the Senufo. In Ghana, where there had been no baptized Catholics in Apollonia in 1914, there were in 1920 twenty-six principal stations and thirty-six secondary ones with 5,200 members and 15,400 catechumens. Roman Catholic missionary George Fischer spoke of the "divine fire lit by the grace of the divine Master," but he made no mention of Harris. In Liberia where the Catholic mission had only begun in 1906, its prefect, Father Jean Ogé, wrote in 1920 that "the missions are going ahead by leaps and bounds . . . due to the former teaching of the famous prophet Harris. The pagans, deprived of their old gods, stream to our churches and ask for religious instruction."¹⁰

There was a major breakthrough for Protestant missions. In Ghana the Methodist church was confronted with more than 8,000 people in the Axim area requesting church membership, with village after village requesting catechists and schools. In the Ivory Coast, the 1924 arrival of the British Wesleyans led within sixteen months to the reorganization of more than 160 chapels with more than 32,000 actual names on church registers. The "testament" brought back from Harris in 1926 increased that constituency. In 1927, in response to the Harris impact, the French Baptist Mission Biblique began its work in the southwest. The arrival in 1929 of the Christian and Missionary Alliance from the United States, eager to work with the fruit of Harris's labors, led to their activities in the central Ivory Coast. These constitute three of the major Protestant churches today.

There came about a stimulation of a mass movement into the established Protestant churches in Liberia. The Methodist Episcopal church wrote officially in 1916 of

the great revival movement among the natives with which God has blessed us. But for this our membership could not have made the advance it has. And yet we could not gather into the church all who professed conversion because we had not sufficient number of missionaries to instruct and train them. Many however went into other churches and were not lost to Christianity. Literally thousands, largely young people, have been swept into the Kingdom of God.¹¹

Dr. Frederick A. Price described it as a "real tidal wave of religious enthusiasm which swept hundreds of people into the Christian church. . . . It was nothing else but Pentecost in Africa." But he also pointed out that because of their refusal to abandon polygamy, countless numbers were also refused by the churches, obviously in contradiction to Harris's understanding and preaching.

Many of these people may be members of the invisible church of Christ even though we cannot admit them into full membership in the local assembly. . . . One remarkable feature about this great movement was the fact that tribes which seemed the most difficult to approach now became the most responsive to the preaching of the Gospel. . . . The revival fire soon spread from one end of the coastline to the other and certain sections of the interior shared the wonderful experience of getting in touch with Christ.¹²

There was also the creation of the Église Harriste (Harrist Church) in the Ivory Coast, in 1931, as a result of the 1928 visit of the Ebrí leader Jonas Ahui, who was consecrated by the prophet, given his cross and Bible and the last written message from Harris. The church is today an important interethnic religious reality of perhaps 200,000 adherents, including communities in Ghana and Liberia. All seven weekly services (three on Sunday) are in the local languages and bear the distinct Harris stamp: strong anti-fetish accent on one God; prayer as a replacement for sacrifice; use of traditional music and dance; use of cross, Bible, calabash, and baptismal bowl as liturgical instruments; liturgical vestments following the model of Harris; traditional marriage practices, with preachers having only one wife; government by "twelve apostles"; self-supporting preachers chosen from within the local congregation. The elderly Ahui is still the active spiritual head of the church.

There was a growth of "prophetism"—a kind of third way between traditional religion and the mission-planted churches. The phenomenon has occurred constantly since Harris's time in areas touched by his influence: in Dida country by Makwi, almost parallel with Harris; by Aké among the Adjukru and Abbey in the 1920s; by the prophetess Marie Lalou and the Déïma movement following the 1940s, along the northern edge of the areas influenced by Harris; Adai among the Dida in the 1940s; Papa Nouveau among the Alladian in the 1950s; Josué Edjro among the Adjukru in the 1960s; Albert Atcho, from within the Harrist tradition, serving all of the lagoon peoples. Although Harris is a partial inspiration for the phenomenon, none of these leaders had the authentic Christocentrism of the prototype. Though the movements maintain a certain continuity, there is also a constant movement from them into Christ-centered communities. In Ghana, the prophet-healing accents of the Church of the Twelve Apostles places it somewhat in the same lineage, dating back to two of Harris's actual disciples, Grace Thanni, who accompanied Harris from the Gold Coast, and John Nackabah.

A further result of the grassroots religious shift—coupled with the failures of the missions and churches to follow through (lack

of staff, Western piety and disciplines, refusal to recognize polygamy) with the élan of Harris—is found among the many post-Harris autonomous "spiritual" churches of Ghana and Liberia in an evolving popular African Christianity.

An openness to modernity is striking. The opposition of the coastal peoples to the education of their children by the Western colonial schools was broken by Harris, who insisted: "Send your children to school." In September 1915, less than a year after Harris's arrest at the initiative of Lieut.-Gov. Angoulvant, the latter wrote:

At Jacquville [on the Alladian coast where Harris ministered] the excellent upkeep of the village struck me again. But what I noticed most was the enthusiasm with which the children came to the school which I had just opened. And the great desire that they show for instruction once they have a trained and zealous master like the one I sent them. No school has ever had such success. And it was the chief of Jacquville himself who furnished the building free of charge until the administration can furnish one.¹³

Those children and the many who followed in numerous other places were among the first cadres of an independent Ivory Coast in 1960: ministers of state, ambassadors, legislative deputies, directors of societies, and so forth.

There was a general climate of peace and cooperative submission along with a deep inner rejection of colonialism with its brutal "pacification" prior to Harris and its conscription and forced labor after Harris. This climate, nourished by the important new autonomous religious grassroots constituted a particular kind of nationalism, which led to "independence with France" under President Felix Houphouët-Boigny, and made a significant contribution to the base of the modern-day so-called miracle of the Ivory Coast.¹⁴ More than one well-informed observer has noted the relationship between the impact of Harris and the contemporary scene in the Ivory Coast, characterized by the African accents of hospitality and dialogue, and by an absence of social and political violence. The president himself, in an early address to the national assembly, indicated his own awareness of the heritage from Harris that had preceded his own work.

Observations about the Prophet Harris's Missionary Strategy

In the measure that Harris had a very simple message, insisted on an African church, exploited indigenous values and structures, and respected traditional family structures, one could say that his strategy of African evangelization and church planting was very much that advocated by Blyden, the erstwhile Presbyterian minister who had given up his ministry and his hope for Western missions while retaining his faith in Christ and in the "God of Africa." At one point in his thought, Blyden felt that Christianity in its initial impact upon "heathenism" should be quite similar to Islam in its simplicity of message, symbols, and ritual and in its adaptability to Africa. After an initial implantation, faith could deepen through Christ into a fuller understanding of the African God, even as Islam itself could be such a stage forward to the fullness of the gospel. It was a strategy not unlike that of the present-day Church Growth school with its terminology of "discipling" and "perfecting."¹⁵ However, beyond Blyden the sophisticate, Harris understood that the issue was not just that of simplicity, but rather, of power. Indeed many have insisted upon a break with the old powers as a crucial factor in evangelism in Africa. Islam has often effected that break, but has not yet fulfilled in any massive way Blyden's hope for it in Africa. Harris in a similar way with Christocentric hope, symbolism, and congregation fulfilled the strategy from two points of view. First,

Christianity in the lower Ivory Coast is rooted in African soil and it is African Christianity despite heavy Wesleyan Methodist and Roman Catholic overlays. Second, as Capt. Paul Marty observed in 1922, where Harris had left his mark Islam would probably have no appeal. The important presence of Islam in the lower Ivory Coast is due not to its influence among the coastal populations, but to the massive immigrations to the prosperous south from upper Ivory Coast and the countries to the north, especially under the effects of French colonialism.

The new dimension in Harris's strategy was the administration of baptism immediately following the shift growing out of the power-confrontation; this was to keep people from returning to the old powers—a preventive measure. It was Trinitarian Christian baptism even if the people did not grasp that meaning. Father Joseph Hartz at Grand Bassam wrote: "One day I asked him not to baptise. He therefore brought hundreds of people to me to baptise myself. Upon my request to wait until instruction should have made of these people souls capable of grasping the character of Baptism, he answered me, 'God will do that.'"¹⁶ If one were to critique the strategy, positively or negatively, it must be done at this point.

In the measure that Harris accented the Sunday Sabbath-keeping as a continued sign of a break with the past, introduced prayer as a replacement for sacrifices, used the Bible in the chapel as a replacement for the collective fetish of the village, introduced new festivals to replace the old, he was simply carrying out a standard Episcopalian pattern that he had seen and practiced among his own people in the Cape Palmas area.¹⁷ The new dimension in the strategy was the maintenance of the traditional music with a transformation of the words, rather than the intro-

duction of a new and foreign hymnology, though his own favorites included "Lo, he comes on clouds descending," "Guide me, O thou great Jehovah," and "What a friend we have in Jesus." The use of calabash and dance was a part of that strategy, despite the ambiguities implicit in their maintenance. But it was crucial for a people in a tradition of orality, and Harris did not see literacy as a prerequisite to faith.

Harris's strong awareness and expression of the power of the Holy Spirit and the Spirit's gifts (foresight, prediction, healing, exorcism, tongues, trance-visitations, empowerment of the word, wonders) was an appropriation of his own, of an important biblical and apostolic reality, which had been nurtured by a deep biblical culture begun under the influence of the Methodist John C. Lowrie. But with Harris the expression of those powers had its own African color and shape for which he had no other visual prototypes than the traditional "country doctors."

In the measure that he was driven by an eschatological urgency, confirmed by the "Armageddon" of World War I, and had himself become the point of power-confrontation in a major messianic breakthrough oriented to a kingdom of peace, Harris was involved in a quite un-African strategy influenced by the Russellite writings on the kingdom of God and the need for an Elijah-people to proclaim and live it faithfully until the end, despite opposition from political or ecclesiastical powers. The Protestant missionary milieu he had known had given him an immunity from this New Testament virus, which he caught from the sectarians.

Indeed, the Harris strategy, like the legacy, was a synthesis of many strands. But the legacy, unlike the strategy, has not maintained the central dynamic.

Notes

1. Archives of the Société des Missions Africaines (Rome), 12/804.07:28:761, 1914.
2. Edwin W. Smith, *The Christian Mission in Africa* (London and New York: International Missionary Council, 1926), p. 42.
3. Adrian Hastings, *African Christianity* (London and Dublin: Geoffrey Chapman, 1976), p. 10.
4. C. P. Groves, *The Planting of Christianity in Africa* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1958), vol. 4, p. 41.
5. See David A. Shank, "A Prophet of Modern Times: The Thought of William Wadé Harris." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (3 vols.), University of Aberdeen, 1980.
6. Casely Hayford, *William Waddy Harris: The West African Reformer* (London: C. M. Phillips, 1915), pp. 16-17.
7. Translation from G. van Bulck, "Le prophète Harris vu par lui-même (Côte d'Ivoire 1914)," *Devant les sectes non-chrétiennes* (Louvain: XXXème Semaine de Missiologie, 1961), pp. 120-24.
8. Hayford, *William Waddy Harris*, pp. 16-17.
9. Paul Marty, *Études sur l'Islam en Côte d'Ivoire* (Paris: Éditions Ernest Leroux, 1922), p. 13.
10. Quoted in E. M. Hogan, *Catholic Missionaries and Liberia* (Cork, Ireland: Cork University Press, 1981), p. 103.
11. *Liberian Conference Blue Book* [Liberian Methodist Church] (Monrovia: College of West Africa Press, 1916), pp. 7f.
12. Frederick A. Price, *Liberian Odyssey* (New York: Pageant Press, 1954), pp. 142-48.
13. *L'Indépendant de la Côte d'Ivoire* [newspaper published at Grand Bassam, Ivory Coast] 137, Sept. 7, 1915.
14. This is discussed in E. Amos-Djoro "Les églises harristes et le nationalisme ivoirien," *Le mois en Afrique* 5 (1966): 26-47.
15. The comparison of Church Growth theory and practice with the ministry of Harris has received attention in J. Stanley Friesen, "The significance of Indigenous Movements for the Study of Church Growth," in Wilbert R. Shenk, ed., *The Challenge of Church Growth* (Elkhart, Ind.: Institute of Mennonite Studies, 1973).
16. See van Bulck, "Le prophète Harris," pp. 120-24.
17. The differences among community conversion, individual conversions through the Word, and individual conversions through the Holy Spirit power signs, in each of their social manifestations in the Ivory Coast, have been very carefully studied by Charles-Daniel Maire, *Dynamique sociale des mutations religieuses: Expansions des protestantismes en Côte d'Ivoire*, unpublished memoir at Paris/Sorbonne, E.P.H.E., 1975.

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- . "The Message as the Medium: The Harrist Churches of the Ivory Coast and Ghana." In George Bond, et al., eds., *African Christianity: Patterns of Religious Continuity*. New York: Academic Press, 1979.
- . *The Religious Revolution in the Ivory Coast: The Prophet Harris and His Church*. Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1983.

The Christ Apostolic Church (400,000 members in 1975), was organized officially in 1941, but its roots go back to before 1920, and the influence (~~of~~ ^{as with} Aladura) of Faith Tabernacle (Pula.). It is, in fact, the "institutionalized.. mainstream" of the Faith Tabernacle movement. Its three leaders were ¹ I. B. Akinleye, a former deacon of St. Peter's Anglican church in Ibadan, and a chief of Ibadan, who had received knighthood, but who broke with the English missionaries when he rejected the use of medicines after a faith healing experience in 1926;

² Babalola, who had been the leading revivalist of the Aladura revival of 1930; and

³ Odubango. - These three thus broke not simply with Anglicanism, but also with the Aladura African churches, and by their eminence and reputation quickly made the Christ Apostolic Church into what many considered the elite of the Nigerian African independent churches.

The vivid ^{military} metaphor ^{with which} this church compared its position in church history to other churches was ^{to call itself} Christianity's "second line of defense". The early

Christians were the "first line" of Christian soldiers, using prayer as their gunpowder, and the Holy Spirit the gun against all the powers of the devil. But the historic churches turned worldly and ineffective, and God had now replaced them with this "second line of defense," the Christ Apostolic Church. (Samuel, p. 194).

They stressed the leadership of the "prophet figure," Joseph Babelola, the converted driver of the roadroller, turned evangelist. But the power was the Holy Spirit, who had acted in the Christ Apostolic Church as at the first Pentecost. There was a milder, less exclusive form of Pentecostalism than that of some Aledura churches. The Spirit's spiritual gifts (healing, speaking in tongues and interpretation) were real and significant but not a requirement for salvation, for the Spirit's power works in many other ways.

Again unlike ^{some} ~~the~~ more charismatic Aledura churches, they

stressed the centrality of Christ, not vague emotives and testimonies, and
 while acknowledging the reality of lesser spirits, they affirmed the central
 mediating role of Christ, not salvation through the African spirits. And
 "unlike the Cherubim and Seraphim, the CAC stressed the Bible as the
 written authority for its doctrines and of the pastor in expounding it (Sanneh, p. 195 f.)
 Even healing became less emphasized as the CAC grew both
 numerically and in influence and social standing. Dreams and visions
 were also de-emphasized - though none of the pentecostal gifts were
 ever repudiated. And as Sanneh appreciatively remarks, as they
 chanted 'There is power in the blood of Christ

A system of categorizing, classifying them: (Julliland, pp. 266-271).

1. Primary evangelical-Pentecostal: - traceable to American-European origins

Church of God ^{Muslim} Movement of Benin City - PTL of Va.

Ghanian Church of Pentecost - Elin Pentecostal Movement of England.

- fit into ecumenical + inter-national conferences.

2. Secondary evangelical-Pentecostal - now almost totally unrelated to western origins

Aladura churches of Nigeria + Cherubin + Seraphim (more radically sectarian)

Faith Temple of Nigeria

Christ Apostolic Church - more classically Pentecostal.

- Biblically authoritarian

3. Revelationally-Indigenism - prophetically oriented.

Celestial Church of Christ, Nigeria. - one of fastest growing

4. Indigenism - Eclectic - their claim to be Christian is debatable.

leader is little more than a shaman

Jesus is named, but the structure is traditional.

Criticisms and classifications of African Independent Churches.

G. C. Oosthuizen, characterizes them as "generally having a weak Christology and a misinterpretation of the work of the Holy Spirit." He calls the movement "post-Christian", and implies a return to native religions. (Post-Christianity in Africa, London: C. Hurst, 1968)

Bengt Sundkler generally agreed that the movement had become "a bridge over which Christianized Africans were led back into heathenism" (Bantu Prophets in South Africa, Oxford: Univ. Press, 1948), but in the 1961 revision (2nd ed.) he changes his opinion and recognizes that most "had made serious breaks from their African traditional religions".

[- quotes from David A. Shank, "Mission Relations with the Independent Churches in Africa", Missiology, XIII, No. 1, Jan. 1965, pp. 23-44.]

Dean Gilliland recognizes 5 barriers ^{of "old church" prejudice ~~that~~ against the independents that cause friction} between the mission churches and the independents: ① "the miset of being discounted" - they are not one with us, they are outsiders, beyond our "council", non-denominational.

② Unconcern - they are not worth bothering about, unoriginal and radical in their worship forms.

③ Pride - mission churches are historic, in "the great tradition"; these independents are mere imitators, and rather shoddy imitations at that.

④ Orthodoxy - they do not have the right approach to ~~handling~~ scripture and apostolicity. They are either syncretistic or heretical.

⑤ Fear - but perhaps they are much closer to the African world view than we are and are growing faster. They are a threat. ("How Christian are African Ind. Chds" Missiology, XIV, No. 3, June 1966, pp. 259-272).

are:

1. The Church of Christ of Zaire (4,728,000), a loose union of some 45 Protestant denominations
 2. The Church of Christ on Earth through the Prophet Simon Kimbangu (3,500,000)
 3. The Anglican Church of Nigeria (2,941,000)
 4. The Nigerian Fellowship of the Churches of Christ (1,746,000), related to the Sudan United Mission, an international, interdenominational faith mission.
 5. The Anglican Church of Uganda (1,383,000)
- Though if the Dutch Reformed Churches of South Africa (White, Black and Colored) are considered as one, as they are in what is called the Federal Council of Dutch Reformed Churches in S.A, they would rank 4th (2,142,000).

More than that, as a member of the World Council of Churches it can hardly be called separatist and anti-establishment. It is growing and powerful and not to be dismissed lightly. When the President of the Congo (now Zaire) set aside three days to receive delegations from the Christian churches he gave one day to the Roman Catholics, one day to the Protestant Council, and one day to the Kimbanguists, the Church of Jesus Christ through the Prophet Simon Kimbangu.

Simon Kimbangu was born in Belgian colonial territory in the southern Congo. For a while he worked as a teacher and lay-evangelist at an English Baptist mission. In 1918 he began to hear voices, night after night the same voice, "I am Christ. My servants are unfaithful. I have chosen you to witness to your brethren and convert them." He ran away to the capital to escape the voice, but it followed him. Three years later, when he had returned to his own village, one day he felt a sudden leading to enter the house of a woman critically ill, and against his will he seemed compelled to lay his hands on her and heal her in the name of Christ. She recovered, and other healings followed, some of them very difficult to believe, such as the raising from the dead of a twice buried child. (Many of these details are from two books by Marie-Louise Martin, Kimbangu: An African Prophet and His Church, 1975, and Prophetic Christianity in the Congo, 1968. See also, W.J. Hollenwegger, Marxist and Kimbanguist Mission: A Comparison, 1972). But others of his "miracles" were so publicly attested that crowds flocked to hear and see him. He preached faith in Christ, repentance, purity of morals, and monogamy. "How can a man live in peace and find inner quiet ~~and~~

and freedom for prayer if he is living in polygamy," says the present leader of the Kimbanguist church, David Diangienda, youngest son of Simon Kimbangu. (p. 48)

Kimbangu was no racist, no black revolutionary. He prayed for blessings for blacks and whites alike, and counselled obedience to the Belgian authorities. But when the Belgians, alarmed by Catholic reports that the healer was fomenting a popular revolt, came to investigate, and found Simon speaking in tongues and singing hymns all night, they concluded that he was mad, not rebellious, but that his religion though Biblical was so African it might indeed lead to rebellion. They ordered him arrested. The Baptist missionaries loyally defended ^{him}, however critical they might be of what they considered some excesses in the movement. The prophet escaped--by a miracle, his followers said. But three month's later he heard God's voice again, "Return and be arrested", and he obeyed. He was sentenced to 120 lashes of the whip, and then to be put to death. "Use no violence," he told his disciples. "Do not repay evil with evil". The Baptist Mission petitioned for his pardon, and King Albert of the Belgians eventually commuted the sentence to life imprisonment. All this happened in 1921, and Kimbangu was never again a free man. He died in prison--30 years in prison--in 1951. (pp. 60f.)

Perhaps the greatest miracle is how that small group of original Kimbanguists, stripped of the loss of their entire leadership--for his family and principal assistants were also imprisoned--managed to keep the movement secretly intact through 38 years of suppression and exile (1921-59), and then when the ban was lifted, and Zaire was given independence, simply exploded with growth. Its enthusiastic, evangelistic zeal is balanced by a remarkable attention to education and a network of self-supporting schools, together with a genuine concern for the poor which has led them to establish training in agricultural colonies for the unemployed. *The Kimbanguist Church is not the only African Independent Church in Zaire, but it is the most respected.*

Kimbanguist theology is still in process of formation and is expressed more in hymns and symbols than creedal statements. The church's flag is an example. It bears a red heart on a green background, with two palm leaves below the heart. Across the heart lies a cross entwined with a serpent. ^{Book on the Kimbanguist} As Miss Martin's interprets the symbolism, "The heart with the serpent signifies the sinful human heart for which Christ died (represented by the cross). The two palm leaves proclaim the victory of Christ over sin, The red color of the heart..stands for the blood of Christ". (p. 157)

① These are ^{hoped} signs ^{the sign: these signs} of great hope for Africa which I have been describing. The breakthrough in church growth in the 20th century; the rush to independence, ^{the} the accomplishments of the missions despite the handicap of ~~if~~ their ties with colonialism, ^{the} the continuing growth of the mission-related churches as they rose to independence with even more maturity than those that called themselves "independent" and resisted the temptation to sever relations with their brother and sister churches outside Africa, and the dazzling sounds and colors and overwhelming spiritual vitality of the latest work of the Spirit in Africa, the African Independent Churches--all this spells hope, and one of the brightest signs of hope is the fact that one out of every three African Christians is a first generation convert. (Time, Jan. 12, 1970).

But it is a hope not unmixed with sober awareness that the millennium has not yet come in Africa. So much of this hope for the future must bear the tag, "if present trends continue". Or as the Bible puts it better, "Deo volente; if God so wills".

① *freedom in Africa: the first hope.*

Present trends do not always continue, especially in never changing but always changing Africa. Don McClure once wrote, "Africa is still Africa", then added, "and we never know what a day will bring forth". If the '50s and 60s were gloomy about the future of the church in Africa but buoyantly optimistic about the independent future of post-colonial African nations, today the picture is mirror-reversed: optimism about the church, pessimism about the continent's political and economic future. In one of the gloomiest articles on Africa which I have read in years, Xan Smiley writes in the Atlantic Monthly just ^{recently} this month (Sept. 1982), "The grand social and economic experiments of post-independence Africa have lost their charm." He points out that the two most prosperous countries ~~in~~ there are still colonies as far as their economies are concerned--the Ivory Coast (France) and Zimbabwe (Britain). Others--Nigeria, Kenya, Botswana, Cameroon and Gabon--still have workable economies but usually ^{only} because of oil discoveries and natural resources. And "most countries", he writes "have experienced a steady slide toward penury, and the slide has been most spectacular among those such as Ghana and Tanzania whose futures once seemed

most exciting." Smiley estimates that since independence, in only a dozen of the 50 members of the Organization of African Unity (an organization which fell apart this month, unable to muster a quorum--a temporary setback only, I hope)--in only a dozen of its 50 member-states] does "the average citizen.. enjoy a better all-round living now than before the colonial shackles were shed." (Atlantic Monthly, Sept. 1982, pp. 70-79). Thirty years ago Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana could declare proudly, "We prefer self-government with danger to servitude with tranquillity." (quoted by Northcott, p. 32). Today Julius Nyerere, another of the pioneers of independence, "surveys the wreckage of his country's economy," writes the Wall Street Journal (Aug. 27, 1982) and says, "We are poorer than we were [ten years ago]". Most Africans are wondering whether their servitude really ended with independence, ^{and} how much self-government they really have, and whether the tranquillity for which they long can co-exist with poverty. This suggests that in Christian mission in Africa today, poverty may well be a more important issue than freedom-fighting to which ^{so} many mission dollars have gone. ← Philippe-3

The glaring exception may be South Africa. But even there the problem is not so much colonialism as racism. The original inhabitants were neither the present black majority nor the white minority, but rusty-brown Hottentots, and the Bushmen. Injustice is there, but it is the blatant racism of apartheid and ~~the~~ ominous tragedy ^{is} that ~~it is an~~ ^{his} injustice sanctioned by a minority segment of the Christian community. Bishop Desmond Tutu, chairman of the South African Council of Churches was asked on television ~~last week~~ (Sept., 1982) what it meant to be black in South Africa. "It means," he said, "that I am 51 years old and an [Anglican] bishop, but I can't vote. A 14-year-old white boy or girl can vote, but I can't. It means that if I leave my identity card in my coat pocket hanging in my office and go across the street for a cup of coffee, the police can stop me for breaking the law. It means that blacks who are 80% of the South African population have left to them only 13% of the land."

But is the only answer freedom-fighting violence? Most South African Christians resist that solution. In one of my classes at the seminary ^{a few} ~~last~~ ^{as} year was Mr. Sam Buti. A gentle, unassuming man, I took him

to be a student, as he was, but he was also the Stated Clerk of the segregated Black segment of the Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa. His eyes flashed when he spoke of injustices, but then almost with tears he would say, "We don't want the violent way. As Christians we love the Afrikaners too-- and keep trying". South Africa has 22 million Christians out of a population of 28 million. 80% of the country is Christian, and 80% of the Christians are black. If there is any hope of avoiding an Armageddon in South Africa it is in the patient love of the Black Christian 80% of the 80%.

① Africanization

The second hope that I have mentioned for Africa is the Africanization of Christianity on that continent, most notably in the rise of the African Independent churches. But this too is a mixed hope, like independence. There are three general types of these African Independents, says Geoffrey Parrinder (Religion in an African City, 1953). ^{the first type} There are the syncretists, like Nigerian Orunmlaism. "Paint God African..," they command. "Paint the devil any color but African. Then believe on Orunmla and thou shalt be saved." Their Jesus is only a magician. Second, there are the prayer-healers, like the Eternal Sacred Order of Cherubim and Seraphim. They read the Bible, take off their shoes as they enter church and cross themselves when they come in. They practice faith healing and dream dreams. There is not much wrong with that. ^{though} But some of their dreams are very strange. A few years ago they dreamed that their province was about to sink in the sea, so they urged all the faithful to pack up their belongings, and they left town. ³ Third, there are the orthodox separatists who cling to the doctrine and ritual of the mission churches they have left, the 39 Articles, the vestments, the prayerbook and all. To most westerners this sounds like the best kind of all, until ^{they discover} that though the pastor wears a clerical collar, he has three wives. The most difficult problem the African churches face is how far indigenization can be carried without ceasing to be Christian, and how long the theology of the Independent churches can remain in process of formation without disintegrating before it can develop the better Bible training and theological education it so urgently needs.

There is no question that the African Independent church movement is one of the hopes for the future for Africa. It is already a very welcome

and highly strategic 14% of the entire Christian population of the continent. But the major Christian bodies, those once called mission churches but which are now as independent as the "independents", are still the most influential, the most enduring and probably still the most active churches in reaching the unreached.

Any list of the outstanding Protestant denominations would be far more heavily weighted with the older mission-related churches than with the African Independents. For example, though size is no guarantee of quality, of the fifteen largest denominations in Africa, 8 are "standard-brand", 3 have roots in the Faith Missions (Sudan United and Sudan Interior), 2 are United Churches (which include Presbyterians), and only 2 of the 15 are African Independent (the Kimbanguists and the Zion Christian Church of South Africa). The largest five are:

1. The Church of Christ of Zaire (4,278,000 affiliated members), a loose union of some 45 Protestant churches, a united church.
2. The Church of Christ on Earth through the Prophet Simon Kimbangu, (3,500,000), African Independent.
3. The Anglican Church of Nigeria (2,941,000)
4. The Dutch Reformed Churches of South Africa (2,142,000), a federation of four segments, white (1,200,000), black (600,000), coloured or "mixed" (340,000), and Indian (2,000).
5. The Nigerian Fellowship of the Churches of Christ (1,746,000), which is related to the Sudan United Mission, an international, inter-denominational faith mission.

More than any African Independents, the so-called "mission churches" were the evangelistic force that changed Africa from a 77% unevangelized continent in 1900, to a 75% evangelized continent in 1980 (distinguishing here between "evangelized" and "converted". More than any African Independents, in fact almost exclusively without the Independents, these were the foundation of a network of Christian mission schools which have been described as the single most influential factor in the African cultural, political and industrial revolution. More than the African Independents the major churches--and here I include the Catholics--gave Africa its leadership for independence. "Nearly all the present generation of African leaders," wrote Cecil Northcott at the high tide of the rush to freedom, "were educated in Christian schools and colleges"--Nkrumah of Ghana, Nyerere of Tanzania, Kenyatta of Kenya, Kaunda of Zambia and Banda of Malawi--"to mention only those in former British territories". (p. 28)

In a day when the programs of the older missions are more often criticized than praised, sometimes not without reason, it should nevertheless be remembered that it was the pioneering courage of missionaries like McClure, and the solid foundations of the great African denominations and faith missions that gave African Christianity its platform for the sky-rocketing growth we note with gratitude today.

(3) Growth.

For that growth is the third hope of the church in Africa--six and a half million new members added every year to the swelling rolls of the church of Jesus Christ. But we have already warned that what grows is not always as hopeful as it may seem. Press beyond the statistics, and the "sin which so easily besets" lurks behind the numbers to dilute the promise of hope--the sin of apartheid, and the sin of schism, the sins of superstition and pride and politics and doubt.

1950 - 5.5m - 9%

1952 - 30m - 20%

1982 - 203m 1982
14%

To stop growing is no answer, of course. To cease evangelizing would be to cure the ills of growth by death. But to stop with evangelism is just as fatal. Christian mission moves on from evangelism to discipling and nurture and service. So much is still undone. South Africa is evangelized but racist. Central Africa is largely evangelized but desperately poor, and as Dr. McClure quoted with approval, "You can rarely lead a starving man to the Lord." "I am not an agriculturalist," he wrote, "but I must do what I can to make agriculture one of the channels to teaching the Abundant Life through Jesus Christ our Lord." (p. 117).

1982 for first time in 1200 yrs why we longer the white man's religion

So mission moves on, but mission never moves away from evangelism. After all the growth of the past eighty years there are still the unreached pockets that call for pioneers. There are tribes almost completely unreached, but the largest and most impenetrable region is not in the interior but along the brown, dry sandy coast of North Africa. After three waves of Christian advance into Africa, the north is almost entirely Muslim. It is Africa's last frontier in mission, and the most difficult.

Is there really any hope? There is always hope McClure would say. "We dedicated a building [and called it] the Chapel of Hope", he wrote. "I baptized eleven ~~people~~ of our people and led them in a Communion service. It was a wonderful day.." He looked out over the congregation

"We dedicated a building, the Chapel of Hope", he wrote in another letter, "and baptized 11 people. There he had looked out over the congregation / "giving by leaps and bounds and daily... showing real evidence of the leading of God's Holy Spirit."

Simple people who "live very much in the presence of the Lord, - I expect him to visit with them ^{"and keep them,} ~~and guide them,~~" like the ~~man~~ ^{who in his delirium saw his 3 men coming for him,} ~~who prayed for a sick husband,~~ ^{and then his} ~~wife on her knees praying for him, I saw and then the 3 men~~ ~~coming away,~~ ~~I heard James saying~~ like the man who light his way to McClure ~~for~~ ^{emergency} ~~medical~~ treatment. He had been bitten by a puff adder, poisonous as a water moccasin - McClure doubted ^{that} there was much hope. ^(But when he expressed his anxiety to the father) ~~But~~ the man simply said, "If the medicine won't help him, our prayers will. "Yes," wrote McClure, we dedicated a building (today), the Chapel of Hope. But the real chapel of hope for this people.. is to be found in the hearts of such men [and women] as those who have found that [Christ] is their Hope and Their Salvation". (p.110). ^{109 f.}

And once again Don McClure was right. The only unmixed hope for that great continent is Jesus Christ in the hearts and minds of the African people.

Ethiopia passes through its 'Valley of the shadow of death'



Nearly a fifth of Ethiopia's population is in danger of starving.

The bottom was knocked out of this African nation's agricultural production by three successive years of drought, following a decade of population increase, harvest shortfalls, environmental damage, dry weather, political strife and peasant migrations. Of her 35 million people, nearly seven million are at risk of starvation.

So serious is the situation that Ethiopia's Communist government has incorporated help from governments and non-governmental organizations, Christian and secular, including World Vision International, to organize a massive sea, land and air lift of food distribution to affected areas.

"Like all the voluntary agencies serving in Ethiopia, we have been feeling an increasing sense of alarm," WVI president Tom Houston said. The need is for monthly delivery and distribution of 100,000 metric tons of grain for the next 12 months.

Without assistance, some 300,000 to 900,000 Ethiopian men, women and especially children may die in the coming year, according to estimates of the World Food Program and the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization.

"The absolute minimum of relief commodities needed in the next year are 540,000 metric tons of grain, 45,000 MT of supplementary food and 13,000 MT of edible oil." This is the estimate of Dr. Tony Atkins, head of World Vision International's special relief team in Ethiopia.

Typical of the rural famine was the situation in October at Alamata, a village of 15,000 which received an additional 25,000 refugees. Its needs are being served by World Vision's Dr. George Ngatiri and his staff, together with four nurses from other agencies.

They provide three cooked meals for children measuring between 70 and 80 percent of normal weight-for-height, and six cooked meals for those under the 70 percent measure. There are 2500 in the first group and 500 in the second. Meals are served to their mothers, and medical attention is provided.

"But we haven't seen anything yet," Dr. Ngatiri stated. "This town is full

The starving person feeds upon his own body

of people whose children's health soon will decline to the level of our feeding center admission criteria. It's inevitable. They know we'll have to take care of them once they reach 80 percent of normal weight, so they're just waiting for things to get bad enough. There are thousands of them sleeping in the streets. We'll be seeing many more children here in supplementary feeding before long."

is the lack of an adequate transportation network. Ethiopia's port facilities and highways are very limited. Current assistance comes through centers which can be served by roads. Three-fourths of the population, however, does not live near roads. The NGO's and governments, with the government's approval, have been organizing airlifts and supplementing Ethiopia's port facilities with expanded capacity at neighboring ports, like Djibouti, which is a French protectorate.

3. The third—and perhaps the most difficult—problem is related to the nature of the assistance provided. Massive imports of grain can help prevent starvation, by keeping people from passing into its final stages.

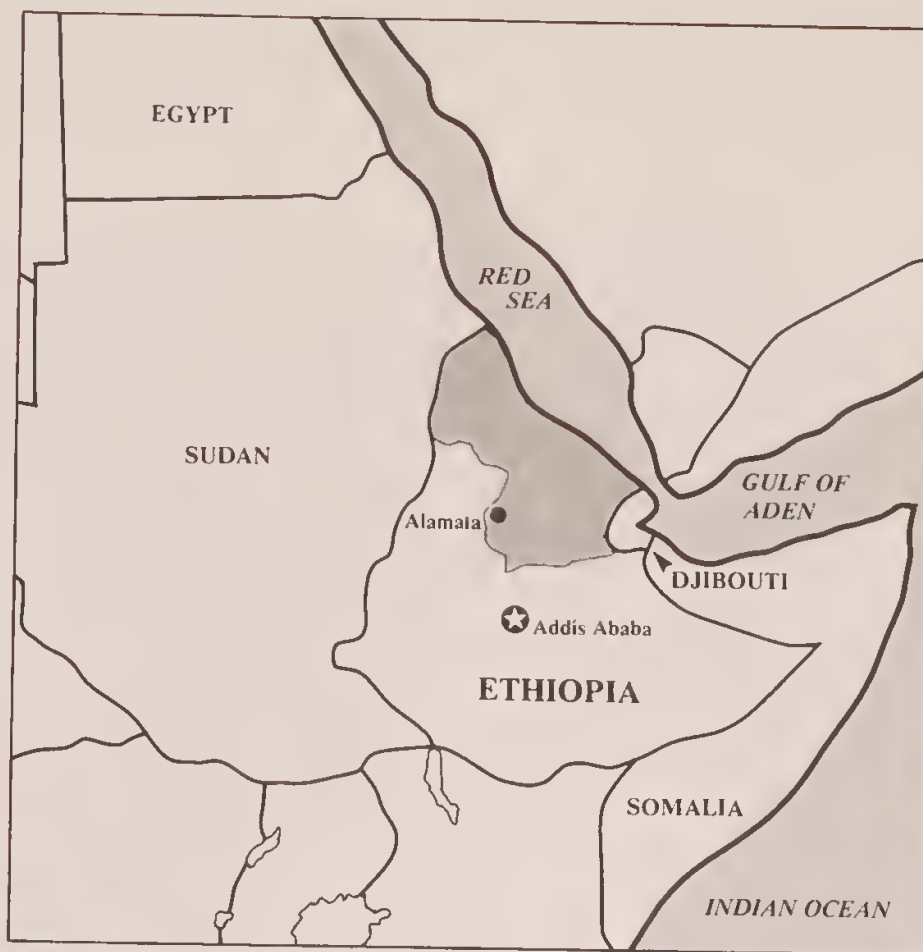
But more than mere grain is needed to bring victims back to normalcy from an advanced condition of starvation. Medicines, proteins, vitamins and medical attention are indispensable.

Death by starvation is a unique process. The starving person can be said almost to feed upon his own body. In its frantic search for glucose to fuel the brain and sustain the body's energy, the liver first exhausts its own glucose reserves. Then it turns to the tissues of the body and breaks down into glucose the protein of the muscles and other body organs.

"Fat is seized from its various depots," Richard Selzer explains, "and is changed to fatty acids in the liver, which substances supply energy to the remainder of the body." In an article appearing in *Harpers Magazine*, entitled "Strangulation in the Open Air," Selzer writes: "So it is that like the praying mantis, we turn upon our own bodies to feed, eating ourselves with the mindless voracity of insects biting off their own legs."

The body resorts to many tricks for survival. The starving person is less active, requiring fewer calories than normally. The body learns to substitute ketones for protein as brain food, thus retarding the disintegration of muscles to the point where the victim would no longer be able to move about in search of food.

"The child," continues Selzer, "entering a period of starvation, stops growing, for growth is a luxury, demanding reckless amounts of energy.



■ Area most severely affected

'The king's heart is in the hand of the Lord'

Nor is this growth retrievable... If the deprivation takes place during the first year of life, the effect is even more terrible, for during that first year the brain is still in a stage of development. Without energy to grow, the brain is dwarfed, experiences fewer cell divisions, forms less mass: there is stunting of the intellect as well."

It is easy to see why Dr. Atkins insists that grain alone is not enough in the current food crisis. It is essential, of course. But for those whose starvation is already advanced, as well as for chil-

dren and pregnant mothers, additional nourishment and assistance is necessary. This represents one more obstacle to overcome.

A final factor in the Ethiopian equation needs to be highlighted. It is true that the suffering defies description. It is equally true that resources are demanded which exceed our capacity to supply. Likewise, the problems involved in matching these resources to the Ethiopian needs are seemingly insuperable.

But God's Word reminds us that he is in control: "The king's heart is in the hand of the Lord; he directs it like a watercourse wherever he pleases." This is true, not only of kings, but of warriors, government authorities, executives, churches and humanitarian agencies. Their hearts are in his hand. We need to pray that he will create the attitudes and the will necessary to solve this mammoth problem. □

Return to 617

My brother the slave



AFRICA

LARGEST CHURCHES
(Prot.)

Barnett, World & Soc. 1982 (stat. as of 1977-79)

Largest Churches (Protestant)

AFRICA

	Adm.	Mil.		
Kenya, Anglican	239,000	582,600	(12)	1. Zaire Ch. of Christ
Afr. Ind. Pent.	200,000	496,000	(17)	2. Kumbungu Ch., Zaire
Madagascar, Ch. of Jesus Xt	250,000	881,487	(9)	3. Nigerian Anglican
Malawi, Ch. of Cent. Afr. Presb.	(4) 252,171	766,000	(10)	4. Nigeria Fed. of Ch. of Xt. (SUM)
Nigeria, Anglican	(5) 355,969	2,941,000	(3)	5. Uganda Anglican
" Fed. of Ch. of Xt (SUM)	100,553	1,746,000	(5)	6. S. Africa Anglican
" Ev. Ch. of W. Afr. (SIM)	60,000	500,000	(16)	7. S. Africa Dutch Ref. (white)
S. Afr., Dutch Reformed (white)	(3) 799,876	1,800,000	(4)	8. S. Africa Methodist
" " " of Afr. (black)	167,428	600,000	(11)	9. Madagascar Ch. of J. Xt.
" Anglican	(6) 327,436	1,235,946	(7)	10. Malawi, Ch. of Cent. Afr. Presb.
" Meth.	(4) 373,675	942,505	(8)	11. S. Afr. Dutch Ref. of Afr. (black)
" Zion & Ch. (Ind. Afr.)	(8) 300,000	600,000	(18)	12. S. Afr. Zion & Ch. (Ind.)
Tanzania, Sw. Luth. Ch.	(10) 274,843	592,342	(12)	13. Tanzania Sw. Luth.
Uganda, Anglican	(7) 306,355	1,383,951	(6)	14. Kenya Anglican
Zaire, Ch. of Xt Zaire	(2) 1,519,499	4,728,280	(1)	15. Ethiopia Word of Life Sw. (SIM)
Kumbungu	(1) 2,000,000	3,500,000	(2)	16. Nigeria Sw. Ch. of W. Afr. (SIM)
Zambia, Jehovah's Witnesses	130,000	450,000		17. Kenya, Afr. Ind. Pentec.
Ethiopia, Word of Life Sw. Ch.	181,000	500,000	(15)	

of 10 largest. United II
Standard denominational - 11418
Faith mission - 1
Afric. indep. - 1
Pentecostal

of 15 largest. United II
Standard denom. 11411 -
Faith III (SIM, SUM)
Afr. indep. 11

Appl. Pentec. Luth.

AFRICA

ITS POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

Produced by the Cartographic Division
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Based on rock painting Wadi Keisan, Libya

AFRICA IS THE CRADLE of mankind, some anthropologists believe, yet most of its nations are among the world's youngest and poorest. In the Great Rift system, where manlike beings were walking upright 3.6 million years ago, Ethiopians today subsist on an annual per capita income of a hundred dollars. In Upper Volta, only 6 percent of the people can read, and a newborn child is not expected to celebrate its 40th birthday.

Many of Africa's 450 million people, who speak more than a thousand languages, till drought-prone farmland. Their governments struggle with the challenge embraced in 1953 by Kwame Nkrumah in arguing for the Gold Coast's independence: "The mistakes we may make will be our own mistakes, and it will be our responsibility to put them right."

The colonial era was not a complete disaster for Africa. European railroads and industrial infrastructures paved the way for the development of natural resources. Missionaries established primary education and health care. What proved disastrous was the imposition of foreign political systems and arbitrary boundaries, which often divided language and cultural groups. The resulting ethnic fragmentation has helped touch off some fifty successful coups during the post-independence period.

External influences compromise the professed allegiances of emerging nations to a nonaligned Third World. Economic ties to

former paternal powers, especially France, remain strong in countries such as Tunisia, and Senegal. An African connection is imperative for the United States, which depends on Nigeria, Libya, and Algeria for 30 percent of its imported oil.

Meanwhile, Marxist intrusions have proliferated. China's forays include Tanzania, Zaire, Madagascar, and the Central African Republic. Soviet arms and advisers fueled liberation movements in Mozambique and Angola, with Cuban troops active both in the latter country and in Ethiopia, where they helped defeat Somali forces in 1978. The allied "front line" states of Tanzania, Zambia, Botswana, Angola, and Mozambique have actively supported a guerrilla war waged since 1972 by two rival militant factions in Zimbabwe-Rhodesia at a cost of an estimated 20,000 lives.

South Africa also battled insurgents in Namibia (South-West Africa), who spurned South Africa's plan—also rejected by the United Nations—for Namibia's independence. At home, South Africa pursued its policy of creating separate nations out of black homelands despite widespread opposition; the third, Venda, was declared independent last September.

As the continent faces a new century, it hears the promise and peril foreseen by French-African poet David Diop of an Africa "whose fruit little by little learn the bitter taste of liberty."



Abraham Ortelius Africae tabula nova, 1570

Work of art on a canvas of educated guesses, this map was the most accurate of its age in depicting the Dark Continent. Ortelius, a famous Flemish cartographer, included it in a collection of seventy maps entitled Theatrum orbis terrarum. While his coastlines, based on

Portuguese exploration, are fairly correct, he managed to add the name of Zanzibar to the southwest coast. Four oversimplified rivers, the Niger, Nile, Zaire, and Zamana (Zambezi), traverse an empty interior. Other mapmakers stretched their imaginations to cover such huge,

embarrassing blanks, inspiring Jonathan Swift's caustic gibe in 1733: So Geographers in Afric-Maps With Savage-Pictures fill their Gaps; And o'er unhabitable Downs Place Elephants for want of Towns.

From the collections of the Library of Congress Geography and Map Division



KINGDOMS AND EMPIRES

NO SHAPE of civilization can eclipse ancient Egypt during the New Kingdom beginning in the 16th century B.C. As the pharaonic star slowly dimmed, the kingdom of Kush rose to the south. Its power was forged in iron smelters—a technology possibly exported to Ethiopia, a faith introduced to Africa by the Greeks.

Meanwhile, West Africa was waking to a growing demand for trade from the Barbary Coast. There the Berbers became the middlemen for the Phoenicians of Carthage and their Roman conquerors after 146 B.C. With the Romans came the camel, a fuel-stingy Asian import that threatened to put Saharan horse traders out of business. For centuries Tripoli and other northern terminals on the trans-Saharan caravan routes imported gold, slaves, ivory, and hides from the south in exchange for salt, cloth, iron, and copper goods that funneled into the western Sudan. There, a series of empires began to evolve. They found themselves squarely in the path of a tidal wave: the Islamic jihads, crusades that brought unity to North Africa and everlasting

isolation to Christian Ethiopia. Arab scholars were amazed at the wealth and wisdom of the African kingdoms they encountered. Ghana, whose roots may date to A.D. 400, boasted "the wealthiest of all kings on the face of the earth on account of... hoards of gold..." wrote Ibn Hawqal in the tenth century. The Muslims of Mali, at their acme by 1350, had "a greater abhorrence of injustice than any other people," observed Ibn Battuta. Gao, metropole of the Songhai empire, was full of "exceeding rich merchants." Leo Africanus reported around 1510, marveling "how costly and sumptuous all things be." Centers of power shifted to the coast, drawn by European trade.

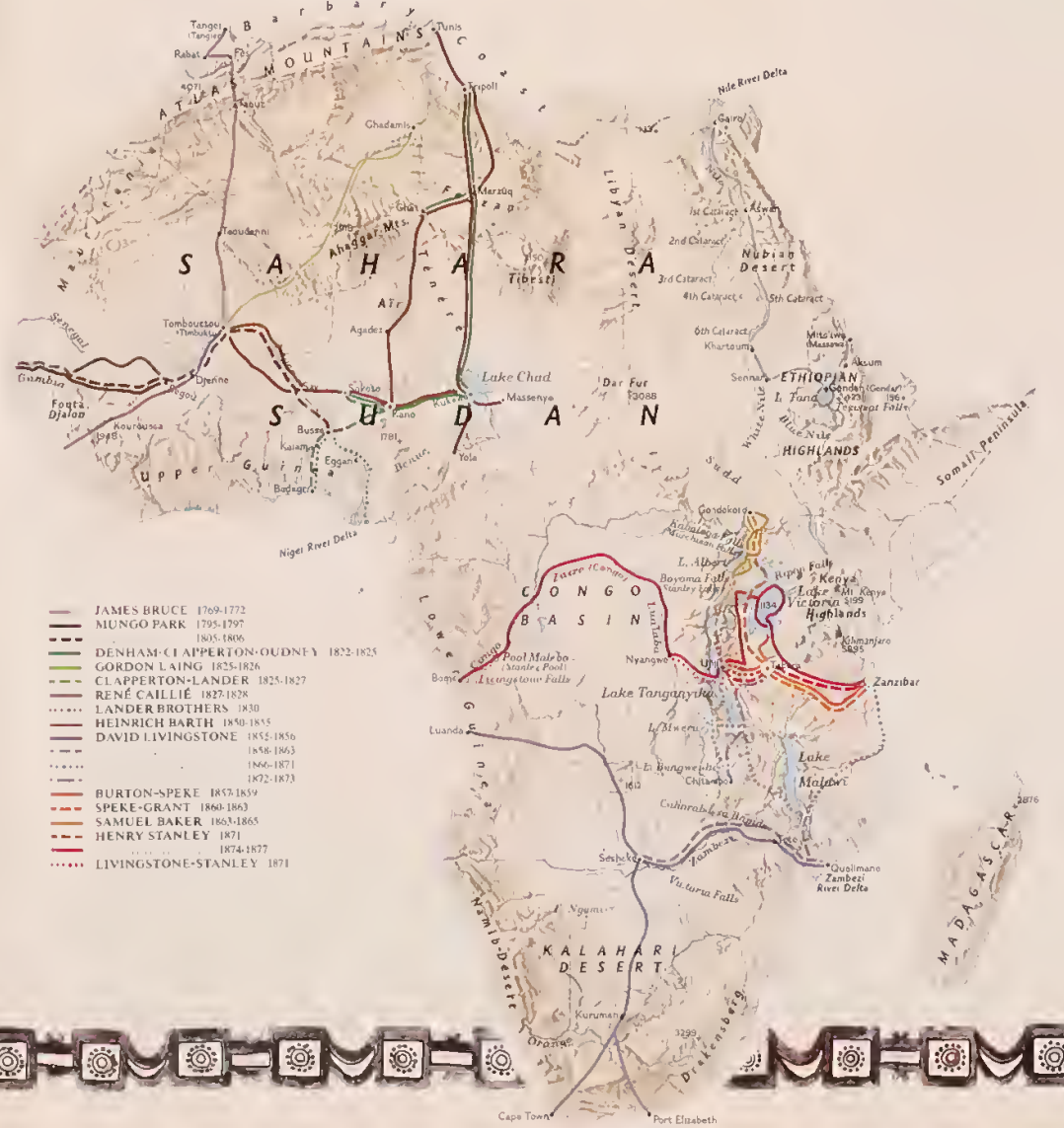
The Sahara continued to grow more desiccated—perhaps a factor in a great migration that had begun two thousand years earlier. From their homeland in what is now eastern Nigeria, the Bantu drifted south and east. They gradually adapted their life-styles to the changing landscape, assimilated indigenous peoples, and absorbed their innovations. Thus grew several major states of southern Africa—Kongo, Luba, Lunda, Bunyoro, Buganda, Rwanda, and Munhumutapa. To the east, Bantu interaction with Arabs created the Swahili culture. Bantu power shook Africa in 1786 with the birth of a boy named Shaka, whose war machine would fuse the Zulu nation. Meanwhile, from the coasts, an invasion was advancing, one that not even Shaka's warriors could stem, and one that would forever affect African politics.

EUROPEAN EXPLORATION

OUR COUNTRY is being completely depopulated... it is our will that in these Kingdoms there should not be any trade of slaves... In 1526 Affonso, Christianized king of the Kongo, was crying in a wilderness of exploitation. Eighty-five years earlier the Portuguese had brought the Gospel to western Africa and taken home their first sack of gold and their first batch of people. By the mid-19th century, European, American, and Arab slavers—supplied by African go-betweens—had robbed the continent of perhaps as many as 25 million human beings. Colonial inroads came slowly, with Portugal scattering 16th-century beachheads along the east and west coasts that other powers would ultimately overrun, leaving Lisbon with Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea. The British, French, and Dutch were all trading on the Guinea coast by 1600. In 1652 the Dutch East India Company, vying for control of the Indies trade, established a resupply station on the Cape of Good Hope. Cape Town mushroomed in spite of company policy restricting the immigration of

Dutch farmers, or Boers. Britain won control of the cape in the early 1800s and in 1833 abolished slavery. The Boers trekked inland and met the Zulu, whom they defeated at Blood River in 1838. While the lay of Africa's southern lands was thus learned, the interior as late as 1790 was "still but a wide extended blank, on which the Geographer... has traced, with a hesitating hand, a few names of unexplored rivers and of uncertain nations." James Bruce had explored the Blue Nile, but it remained for others to penetrate the rain forests and enthrall Europe with vivid tales. Mungo Park attacked the mystery of the Niger. David Livingstone, dean of the pathfinders, mapped the Zambezi and crossed the continent. John Speke and Richard Burton sought the source of the Nile, for decades a topographical combination lock. Colonization followed hot on their heels. History records Henry Morton Stanley not only as the "finder" of Livingstone but also as the land hunter who helped win for King Leopold II of Belgium the mineral-rich Congo Free State. The countrymen of adventurers like René Caillié dreamed of "Africa French from Algeria to Congo." Britons cherished a "Cape to Cairo" corridor to complement their holdings in Sierra Leone, the Gold

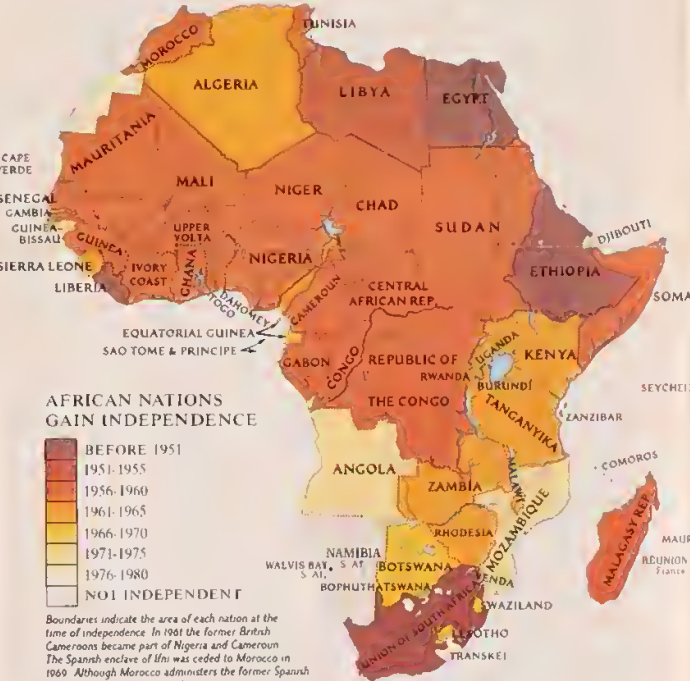
Coast, and Nigeria. In Togo, Kamerun, South-West Africa, and East Africa, Germany wedged footholds between other colonial claims. "My map of Africa lies in Europe," declared Otto von Bismarck, the Iron Chancellor. In 1884 he convened the Berlin Conference, in which the competing powers gerrymandered Africa with their own political boundaries. In 1891 a Nigerian editor mourned, "A forcible possession of our land has taken the place of a forcible possession of our persons."



THE ROAD TO INDEPENDENCE

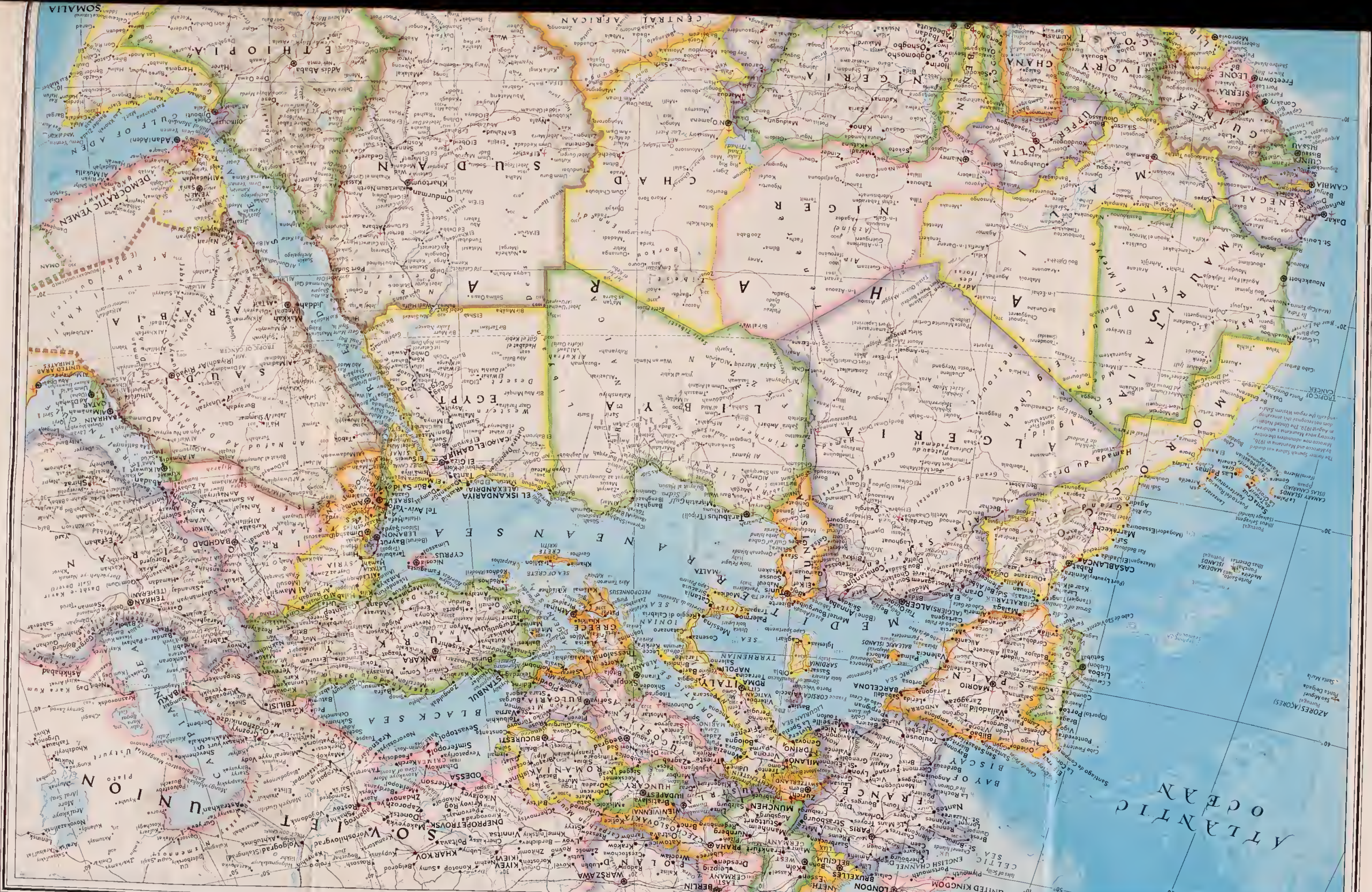
TREMORS OF NATIONALISM rocked the colonials around the turn of the 20th century. Italy's dream of Ethiopian conquest ended at the battle of Adowa. In German East Africa as many as 120,000 Africans died in the futile Maji-Maji rebellion. Britain struggled to suppress the Ashanti in the Gold Coast and took 17 years to crush Sudan's Mahdists. A different revolt that would have greater long-range impact raged in southern Africa's Anglo-Boer war. Cecil Rhodes had thrust a pioneer column north into Bechuanaland (today's Botswana) and into the Matabele kingdom that would long bear Rhodes's name. His fellow British also held a protectorate in East Africa and coveted huge lodes of diamonds and gold in the Boer republics. The Boers lost the battle but won the war, in a sense, when the black vote was precluded in Boer strongholds by the constitution of the Union of South Africa in 1910.

German sympathy for the Boers enraged the British, foreshadowing World War I. With Germany's defeat came the partitioning of its colonies. Britain and France split Cameroon and Togo. Tanganyika was mandated to Britain, Ruanda-Urundi to Belgium, and South-West Africa to South Africa. Resentment smoldered among thousands of Africans co-opted by the warring powers. Black anger crystallized in 1935 when Italy again invaded Ethiopia, a prelude to the Second World War. In its aftermath, a "wind of change" swept south, beginning with Libya's independence in 1951.

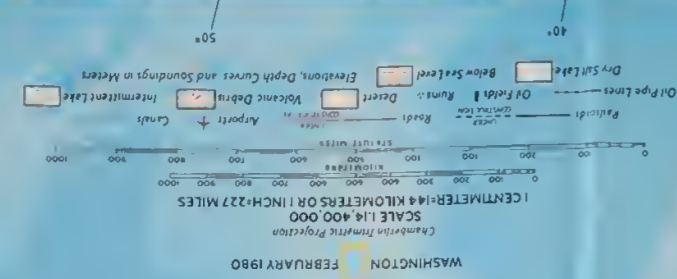


Britain reeled under the Mau Mau revolt in Kenya and withdrew its troops from the Suez Canal, which Egypt's President Gamal Abdel Nasser nationalized in 1956. The same year saw a Sudanese republic born. The Gold Coast became independent Ghana in 1957, and black rule spread quickly through British Africa—save for maverick Rhodesia, where a defiant white minority government declared unilateral independence in 1965. Belgium's withdrawal from the Congo touched off a bloody upheaval. A frustrating eight-year war in Algeria spelled the end of French rule in Africa. In 1975, beset by guerrilla warfare in Mozambique, Angola, and Guinea, Portugal withdrew. Spain's last major enclave, Spanish Sahara, was absorbed by Morocco. As Africa began to regain control of its destiny, the political vise tightened on Zimbabwe-Rhodesia and Namibia (South-West Africa), while South Africa stared unblinking at the prospect of a continent united against it.





SOMALIA
ETHIOPIA
CENTRAL AFRICAN
NIGERIA
CHAD
CAMBODIA
SOUTH AFRICA
INDONESIA
MALAYSIA
PHILIPPINES
VIETNAM
LAOS
BURMA
THAILAND
SINGAPORE
AUSTRALIA
NEW ZEALAND
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
CANADA
MEXICO
CUBA
HAITI
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC
JAMAICA
CARIBBEAN ISLANDS
GREENLAND
ICELAND
NORWAY
SWEDEN
FINLAND
DENMARK
GERMANY
POLAND
CZECH REPUBLIC
SLOVAKIA
HUNGARY
ROMANIA
BULGARIA
GREECE
TURKEY
CYPRUS
ISRAEL
JORDAN
SYRIA
LEBANON
PALESTINE
YEMEN
OMAN
SAUDI ARABIA
IRAN
AFGHANISTAN
PAKISTAN
INDIA
CHINA
TIBET
NEPAL
BHUTAN
SRI LANKA
MALDIVES
SOUTH KOREA
NORTH KOREA
JAPAN
MONGOLIA
RUSSIA
UKRAINE
BELARUS
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BELGIUM
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SCALE 1:44,000,000
CENTIMETER-1/44 KILOMETERS OR 1/INCH=227 MILES

AFRICA



ZAIRE

Among the countries in Africa which have shown the strongest vitality in Christian growth, both among the older Christian groups, and among the more recent African Independent groups, Zaire, ^{the continent's 2nd largest country} stands out in three ways:

- ① in size, (almost a million square miles, about 3 times as large as Nigeria); and
- ② in population - almost ~~13~~²⁸ million, which is only about $\frac{1}{3}$ of Nigeria's ~~62~~⁷³ million - (Nigeria's density is ~~68~~¹⁷⁶ per sq. ~~km.~~^{mile} cf. to Zaire's 27 per sq. mi.); and in
- ③ the size and population ratio of its Christian Churches.

	1950	
Zaire	26½ m.	in adh. - or 95% of the population
Nigeria	35½ m.	but only 48% of the population.

① R.C. As the World Kn Enc. summarizes the hist. of Chy in Zaire, the first Christian contact was in 1482 (ten yrs. before Columbus + N. America) - I have already mentioned the up-and-down history of that first mission: - The Christian King Afonso I; - his son Henry, first black African to be appointed a bishop (RC) - but among other things, Portuguese slave trade, blunted the edge of the proclamation of the gospel. Nevertheless, Roman Catholics today ^{number} ~~form~~ almost half of all the people of Zaire; and a charismatic movement among RC there, known as Jamma (The Family) has brought considerable life and renewal to Zairean R. Catholicism. (p. 759).

AFRICA: LARGEST PROTESTANT CHURCHES

<u>Africa's Total Christian Adherents</u>	1900 8,756,000	1985 1,986,874,000 *
Roman Catholic	2,000,000	89,000,000
Protestant	3,000,000	105,000,000
Orthodox	4,000,000	26,000,000

Africa's largest Protestant churches (ranked by number of "affiliated".

	<u>adult</u>	<u>affiliated</u>
1. Zaire Church of Christ	1,519,000	4,728,000
2. Church of Jesus Christ on Earth..thru S.Kimbangu	2,000,000	3,500,000
3. Anglican Church of Nigeria	356,000	2,941,000
4. Federal Council of Reformed Churches, S. Africa	1,103,000	2,142,000
(Ref. Ch., White 800,000 1,200,000		
Ref. Ch., Bantu 167,000 600,000		
Ref. Ch., Coloured 135,000 340,000)		
5. Nigeria, Fellowship of Churches of Christ	100,000	1,746,000
6. Anglican Church of Uganda	306,000	1,384,000
7. Anglican Church of South Africa	327,000	1,236,000
8. Methodist Church of South Africa	374,000	943,000
9. Madagascar Church of Jesus Christ (Congregational)	250,000	881,000
10. Malawi Church of Central Africa (Presbyterian)	282,000	766,000
11. South African Zion Church (Ind.)	300,000	600,000
12. Tanzanian Evangelical Lutheran Church	275,000	592,000
13. Anglican Church of Kenya	239,000	582,000
14. Ethiopia, Word of Life Evangel. Church (SIM)	181,000	500,000
15. Nigeria, Evangelical Church of W. Africa (SIM)	60,000	500,000
16. Kenya, African Independent Pentecostal Church	200,000	496,000

- World Christian Encyclopedia
 (* This figure from a 1986 update in the
 Int'l Bulletin of Missionary Research,
 lowers the Encyclopedia's estimate for
 1985; hence column totals do not match.)

Zaire.

(2)

② The first Protestant missionaries in Zaire were the British Baptists, in 1878 - American Baptist & Scandinavian Baptists soon joined them. All worked along the great Congo River (now Zaire Riv.). Indirectly it was David Livingstone, on the other side of Africa, the east, who first called Brit. attention to the great opportunities in Central Africa, & who inspired Stanley, after their famous meeting ("Dr. Livingstone, I presume") to explore the Congo River from its source near the Tanzania/Zambia border, almost 2000 miles to the sea.

Presbyterianism came in 1891 - and it is one of the glories of the Presb. Ch. U.S. (Southern Presbyterian) that while it was still a segregated church, its missionary board pioneered in integrated missions. It sent out as its first missionaries to the Congo - a black minister (Wm. Henry Sheppard) and a white minister (Samuel ^{great-uncle of our own James Lapsley} Lapsley) as a team. The work they started became, by 1918 and the end of WWI, what was acknowledged to be one of the three or four finest and most effective missions in all of Africa.

It was a mission which combined the ^{Biblical} gospel of God's saving love in Jesus Christ and the Biblical gospel of God's judgment on sins both personal and social in a remarkably unified way - as of course the Bible

does also - for there are not 2 Christian gospels - one for liberals and one for evangelicals - there is only one God, one faith, one baptism, one God & father of us all, in other words one gospel, as Paul writes to the Ephesians (4:5). That American Presbyterian Mission in Zaire was evangelistic and activist, both.

On the one hand, it produced what was then the largest Presbyterian church in the world in their church at Lubero, in the heart of Africa (^{Stanley}Sheliff, p. 178). In 1918 35% of all the Protestants in the Congo were Presbyterian, though they had only 11% of the ^{Prot.} missionary force in that country. (Reform in Leopold's Congo, Radio, 1970. p. 178)

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On the other hand the mission stood squarely with the church it had helped to build in the colony's bitter struggle for justice. This involved it ~~with~~ ⁱⁿ conflict with 4 major power structures in the colony. (in the period 1890-1921)

- ① The Belgian colonialists
- ② The traditional African leaders, notably King Pot a Pe of the Kuba
- ③ The rubber barons of the Compagnie des Kasai
- ④ Hostile Roman Catholic missionaries of the Scheutist mission. (p. 11).

It was the mission's greatest missionary, William McCutcheon Morrison (in Congo 1897-1918) who became the key figure in the critical struggle to free the Congo from Belgium. Even secular authors, like Sir Arthur Conan Doyle (of Sherlock Holmes fame), was impressed:



④

ZAIRE (Belgian Congo). Stanley Shaloff, Reform in Leopold's Congo. Richmond: J. Knox, 1970

Period. 1890-1921.

Conflict of mission with

- ① Belgian colonialists
- ② Traditional African leaders, e.g. King Kot a Pe of the Kuba.
- ③ Rubber baron of the Compagnie du Kasai
- ④ Hostile Catholic missionaries. the Scheutist mission. - p. 11.

(in Congo 1897-1915)

Wm. McCutchan Morrison, a leader Am. Presb. Congo Mission in critical struggle to free Congo from Belgium. - p. 11
Aided by Wm. Henry Sheppard ^(black) and Samuel Nevell Lapsley, (white), pioneers in the mission, 1890.

Puzzle - how could the segregated SPs establish an integrated mission in the Congo. Reason: ① evangelicals did not equate social gospel with mission. ② Biblical literalism: "Are you not like the Ethiopians to me O Israel (Amos

Conclusion: APCM - "one of the three great missions of Africa, judged either by the size or quality of the work done," said a Methodist leader (1921). "The largest Presb. ch. in the world, numerically, is their ch. at Luaba in the heart of Africa." - p. 178. In 1918, 35% of all Protestants in the Congo were Presb, though they had only 11% of missionaries, free, evangelists.

Ecumenical. Morrison far more interested in Protestant than Presb. converts. - p. 179.

Morrison - the key figure in Congo independence. Arthur Conan Doyle - "Morrison in the dock makes a finer statue of liberty than Bartholdi's in New York harbor" (p. 150, citing Doyle's The Crime of the Congo, N.Y. 1909 p. iv). Stood without compromise against conscription, domestic slavery, taxation + the chefeerie system. - p. 151. However, he was not against imperialism as such - had Leopold been humane in treatment of blacks, Morrison would probably not have fought. He was adamant against condescending racism: -

Morrison - to his mission: "keep in mind that we are their servants and not their masters. [Under their black skins they have feelings and sensibilities similar to ours, which ought to be respected.] if we laugh at their customs, appearances or fetiches, we destroy their confidence in us and repel them." - p. 182.

Zaire's
But, Presbyterians are no longer the largest Christian
church in Zaire, much less ^{the largest Presb. ch.} in the world. They are only no unit
in the Ch. of Christ in Zaire - and not even the largest there:

Baptists -	950,000	
Disc. of Xt.	650,000	
Presb.	330,000	
W. of Cath. M.	300,000	(Would be inc. p. 764 f.)

II. After independence: -

Since 1970 the Zaire government has recognized only one Protestant chh in Zaire - the ECZ (Chch of Christ in Zaire), now number some 83 different member chches, ranging from Pentecostal & Baptist & Presbyterian and ^{Disc. of Xt.} Baptist. The largest ^{(denominational sects in Baptist (3 units = 950,000); the largest single)} unit is now the "Community" (as the member chches are called) of the Disciples of Christ, numbering 650,000 "affiliates". Two different Baptist "communities" number 450,000 each, & the Presbyterian "community" has 300,000 members.

Total membership is 4,728,000. More than 1 million students are in Christian primary schools of Ch. of Xt. & 2.; and the chh has 56 hospitals, 275 dispensaries. (p. 759)

When it was formed, the Methodists at first refused to join, and with 8 other bodies, tried to form an alternative federation of churches (the Council of Prot. Churches of the Congo), but were unable to get government recognition. More recently, the Presbyterians have been unhappy with the authoritarianism of the elected Secretary of the Chch of Christ, whom they accuse of acting too much like a bishop, rather than as the administrative servant and coordinator of the churches.

On the Catholic side, "says the World Kn Enc.", "the Episcopal Conference sponsor a Secretariat for Unity which is responsible for ecumenical relationships between Catholics and Zaire's other churches. There are no joint Cath. Prot. organizations but there is cooperative work" - for example, an ecumenical hospital at Bunde, and a joint translation of the Bible into several tribal languages ~~was~~ sponsored by

the Bible Society of Zaire with Catholics participating. (p. 701).

Relationships between church and government have been almost as difficult after independence as under the colonial government. The Constitution of 1967 promises freedom of religion. But some of the provisions indicate a

- limitation of freedoms:
- ① No one may preach publicly unless a member of a ^{state} recognized church (state recog.)
 - ② Only Zaire citizens may found new churches. Ex-patriates may only represent their own churches in Zaire.
 - ③ Only 7 religious groups have been recognized:
1) R.C. 2) Ch. Xt Zaire 3) Kimbanguist 4) Greek Orthodox
5) Islamic 6) Jewish 7) Bahai.

Furthermore, the Constitution is now secondary to the authority of Zaire's one-party government, the Popular Revolutionary Movement of President Mobutu Sese Seko, who has ruled since 1965. Its form of govt., despite the ^{word} "revolutionary" in the name, is not communism, but a personal dictatorship known as "Mobutuism." ^{A time ago I wrote in the news} ¹³ former legislators ^{were} in jail for at one time or another advocating the creation of another political party. (NY Times, Oct. 11, 1982, p. A2).

The thrust of this ~~was~~ has been some sharp limitations of actual religious freedom, as in a 1970 revision of the Constitution making the MPR (Popular Rev. Movement) the "supreme institution of the Republic" to which religious institutions are subordinate. Combined with the government's passion for a "return to authenticity," i.e. Zairean authenticity, this has led to conflict between churches + state, partly over the issue of a recognition of the gods of the Zairean ancestors.

David Barnett (WCE, p. 701) summarizes developments since 1970 in 15 stages, of which the most important are: -

1. Controversy over the government's enforced merger of the Catholic, and the Protestant universities into the State University. - Aug. 7, 1971. The only 3 Zairian universities.
2. Conflict with and expelling of the Catholic Cardinal Melule from his residence. Dec. '71.
3. Edict that all infants born after Feb. 16, 1972 be baptized with Zairian, not Xn names.
4. Suppression of all Xn youth organizations (RC, Prot. & Kimbanguist) - Nov. 1972.
5. Xn press agencies suspended, Feb. 1973. Member churches of Ch. of X. in Zaire reduced from 76 to 43.
6. All church meetings except worship services prohibited. April '73.
7. Mobutu declares quarrel with RC ended; relaxes prohibition of church meetings. June 1973.
8. Xmas declared no longer a legal holiday.
9. All schools nationalized; religion courses in primary + secondary schools suppressed - replaced by courses in Zairian civics. Jan. 1975.
Civics course: - the MPR is a church whose religion is authenticity and its founder is a Mensch. Mobutu has come in the name of the ancestors.. He should be considered as our prophet.. Dec. 1974, declared by state commission of political affairs.
10. Primary + secondary schools turned back to churches - 3 million pupils, 500,000 teachers. Nationalization proved too costly, + resulted in moral decline. Dec. 1976.
11. Mobutu (a RC) reauthorized religious broadcasting, banned since 1972.

There is still too much bizarre and cultic chaff among the wheat in this new independent African Christianity. Dr. McClure's letters are full of subtle and lingering power of witchcraft even among new Christians. But there is a power too in their midst that comes from simple faith and Biblical insights however faultily grasped, and a harmonious identification with their own natural culture that is not always as spiritually and theologically uncritical as some outside critics have contended.

Not all African Independent churches fit the stereotype: charismatic, unstable, anti-missionary, syncretistic, separatist and heretical. The forerunner of them all, Prophet Harris, the black missionary from Liberia to the Ivory Coast back in 1910 did not speak in tongues, founded no new church, discouraged any personality cult, preferred British colonialism to Liberian independence and was fiercely loyal to the missionaries. In his white robe, white turban, carrying a Bible, a bamboo cross and a gourd of water for baptism, he trudged from village to village. Adrian Hastings tells how the people would ask, "Are you the great spirit of whom they speak?" And he would reply, "No I am a man coming in the name of God, and I am going to baptize you in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost" (African Christianity, p. 10). Then he would tell them, "I must go on now, but one day the missionaries will come to show you the way". When the missionaries came ten years later, it was almost too late. Thousands had waited, and today's great Methodist church on the west coast is built on the foundation that Prophet Harris laid, but other thousands could not wait. An independent Harrist movement sprang up which is now even larger than the Methodist churches in the Ivory Coast.

The greatest of the African Independent churches does not fit the stereotype either. With a constituency of three and a half million, which is larger than the United Presbyterian Church U.S.A., the Church of Jesus Christ on Earth through the Prophet Simon Kimbangu of Zaire is the second largest Protestant denomination in any African country. (~~Par-~~
~~enthetically, I might say here that the four largest such denominations~~

are:

1. The Church of Christ of Zaire (4,728,000), a loose union of some 45 Protestant denominations
 2. The Church of Christ on Earth through the Prophet Simon Kimbangu (3,500,000)
 3. The Anglican Church of Nigeria (2,941,000)
 4. The Nigerian Fellowship of the Churches of Christ (1,746,000), related to the Sudan United Mission, an international, interdenominational faith mission.
 5. The Anglican Church of Uganda (1,383,000)
- Though if the Dutch Reformed Churches of South Africa (White, Black and Colored) are considered as one, as they are in what is called the Federal Council of Dutch Reformed Churches in S.A, they would rank 4th (2,142,000).

More than that, as a member of the World Council of Churches ^{the Kimbanguists} ~~it~~ can hardly be called separatist and anti-establishment. ^{They are} ~~it is~~ growing and powerful and not to be dismissed lightly. When the President of the Congo (now Zaire) set aside three days to receive delegations from the Christian churches he gave one day to the Roman Catholics, one day ^{to} the Protestant Council, and one day to the Kimbanguists, the Church of Jesus Christ through the Prophet Simon Kimbangu.

Simon Kimbangu was born in Belgian colonial territory in the southern Congo. For a while he worked as a teacher and lay-evangelist at an English Baptist mission. In 1918 he began to hear voices, night after night the same voice, "I am Christ. My servants are unfaithful. I have chosen you to witness to your brethren and convert them." He ran away to the capital to escape the voice, but it followed him. Three years later, when he had returned to his own village, one day he felt a sudden leading to enter the house of a woman critically ill, and against his will he seemed compelled to lay his hands on her and heal her in the name of Christ. She recovered, and other healings followed, some of them very difficult to believe, such as the raising from the dead of a twice buried child. (Many of these details are from two books by Marie-Louise Martin, Kimbandu: An African Prophet and His Church, 1975, and Prophetic Christianity in the Congo, 1968.

See also, W.J. Hollenwegger, Marxist and Kimbanguist Mission: A Comparison, 1972). But others of his "miracles" were so publicly attested that crowds flocked to hear and see him. He preached faith in Christ, repentance, purity of morals, and monogamy. "How can a man live in peace and find inner quiet and

and freedom for prayer if he is living in polygamy," says the present leader of the Kimbanguist church, David Diangienda, youngest son of Simon Kimbangu. (p. 48)

Kimbangu was no racist, no black revolutionary. He prayed for blessings for blacks and whites alike, and counselled obedience to the Belgian authorities. But when the Belgians, alarmed by Catholic reports that the healer was fomenting a popular revolt, came to investigate, and found Simon speaking in tongues and singing hymns all night, they concluded that he was mad, not rebellious, but that his religion though Biblical was so African might indeed lead to rebellion. They ordered him arrested. The Baptist missionaries loyally defended, however critical they might be of what they considered some excesses in the movement. The prophet escaped--by a miracle, his followers said. But three month's later he heard God's voice again, "Return and be arrested", and he obeyed. He was sentenced to 120 lashes of the whip, and then to be put to death. "Use no violence," he told his disciples. "Do not repay evil with evil". The Baptist Mission petitioned for his pardon, and King Albert of the Belgians eventually commuted the sentence to life imprisonment. All this happened in 1921, and Kimbangu was never again a free man. He died in prison--30 years in prison--in 1951. (pp. 60f.)

Perhaps the greatest miracle is how that small group of original Kimbanguists, stripped of the loss of their entire leadership--for his family and principal assistants were also imprisoned--managed to keep the movement secretly intact through 38 years of suppression and exile (1921-59), and then when the ban was lifted, and Zaire was given independence, simply exploded with growth. Its enthusiastic, evangelistic zeal is balanced by a remarkable attention to education and a network of self-supporting schools, together with a genuine concern for the poor which has led them to establish training in agricultural colonies for the unemployed. *The Kimbanguist Church is not the only African Independent Church in Zaire, but it is the most respected.*

Kimbanguist theology is still in process of formation and is expressed more in hymns and symbols than creedal statements. The church's flag is an example. It bears a red heart on a green background, with two palm leaves below the heart. Across the heart lies a cross entwined with a serpent. As Miss Martin interprets the symbolism, "The heart with the serpent signifies the sinful human heart for which Christ died (represented by the cross). The two palm leaves proclaim the victory of Christ over sin, The red color of the heart..stands for the blood of Christ". (p. 157)

The suppression of the movement, after the arrest of Simin in 1921, began in earnest a few years later, in 1925, and was so severe and so radical that the movement disappeared from view. All the Kimb. churches and schools were closed (Martin, Kimbanza p. 56). To protect his people, Simin Kimbanza, from his prison, urged his people to become members of Protestant, Catholic or Salvation Army churches. His son (and successor, as head of the chh.) Joseph Dampende, ~~who~~ had been married in the Catholic chh, and remained outwardly a Catholic until 1956. But in that year, and the year following came the great turning point. "While Joseph D. stayed in his car to pray, a delegation of Kimbanzists went with a letter to the Belgian Gov.-General - a letter signed by 600 leading citizens of the capital who now openly declared they were Kimbanzists.

"We are suffering so much," the letter said. "Whenever we meet for prayer ~~you~~ we are arrested by your soldiers. In order not to burden the police with added work we shall all gather - unarmed - in the Stadium, where you can arrest us all at once or massacre us." The letter did not need to add - "or grant us religious freedom."

That was the challenge - massacre or liberation. And the authorities came in. After agonizing consultations - the Gov. Gen. answered - "I grant you toleration, though not with the government's guarantee. I do not have the authority to give you that. But I will not arrest you."

That was 1957. Official recognition came in 1959. Zaire independent in 1960. (Martin, Kimb. p. 105 f.)

But what kind of a church is it? let me summarize very briefly its attitude to politics, to its own internal organization, its ~~relations~~ its theology, and its sense of purpose. (Lecture by Mlungu Mwa-Lomwe Mwa-Munira, Kimberanga, Oct/Nov 1975)

1. Rather surprisingly, first - toward politics.

Rather surprisingly for a chh which is now given major credit by Zaire's political leaders for Zaire's freedom from colonialism, ~~the Kimbanguist doctrine~~ ~~in~~ political - S.K. is often called "the first great nationalist of Zaire" (p. 117); - the official Kimbanguist doctrine is ^① complete separation of "church and politics".

pp. 122-123 (xerox).

"According to my view, a line must be drawn between spiritual (i.e. churchly) and secular (i.e. state) authority. For this reason the Ch. of Xt on Earth though the prophet S.K. will be careful not to interfere directly in problems which are the province of the secular govt. ... The believers... cannot spread or accept an ideology, doctrine or theory on which a political, economic or social system is based which seeks to explain the historical development of the world without reference to the activity of God." - p. 122.

② - a discipline of non-violence. (see ~~1966 incident~~ ^{p. 125} - correct)

"The Church... condemns the use of violence to settle disputes..." (p. 124)
Congrat. between rebels + Belgium, 1966 - the Kimbanguists gathered for prayer. "What are you doing?" - asks Belgium. "Praying" - they say. "No - for all God's children, - for peace..." - and thank him for it." - (p. 125).
But its members do not object to military service in the Zaire armed forces.

③ - it affirms a declaration of human rights.

"The Chh... does not consider it fitting to express views concerning the political system that a country should support. But it is against any political system which deprives the citizens of the fundamental liberties, namely freedom of thought, freedom of speech, freedom of religion and worship, freedom of the press, freedom of opinion + freedom of movement." - p. 125.

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2. Chh. life & organization.

- a. Organi. - 1 Spiritual Head & legal Representative. J. Diangienda. (Blow of horn)
- 2 Chief Council: (advisers)
- 5 "Sacrificers" - 3 men + 2 women who survived the 40 yr. persecution
- National Councils in 3 countries: Kinshasa (Zaire), Brazzaville & Pointe - which together form a General Assembly.

b. Services - mostly in open air - too many in the buildings.
 Sunday - choir for 1/2 hour + orchestra, brass + native instruments.
 singing by congregation

Bible reading
 Promotion of children - infants
 Collection - for special goals, gifts brought to enamel basin in front; - groups compete to complete the goal. Announcements & speeches.
 Sermon (at heart of service) - by male or female evangelist. (both equal).
 Service of healing - low key. (p. 133 f.)

c. Discipline. 10 commandments plus 12 smaller commands: -

- 1. Obedience to state authority.
- 2. Love - even of enemies.
- 3. no alcohol
- 4. no smoking or drugs.
- 5. No dances
- 6. no sleeping or swimming naked.
- 7. no fetiches.
- 8. Pay taxes
- 9. Don't seek vengeance.
- 10. Confession of sins before specially appointed members of clergy.
- 11. No ban on foods - exc. pork & monkey. (p. 132).

3. Theology -

In process of formation - ~~script~~

The seed - green background, red heart symbol with cross entwined with serpent. Symbol of sinful human heart, sinned by red blood of X^t. shed on the cross.
 The catechism - written by S.K.'s 2nd son, Solomon, the only son without a higher education.

Central problem: Is G.X. the absolute lord - or does he have rivals, either in S.K. or his sons as messianic figures.

Ngunzism - a Kimbangu heresy - "We prayed to God and He sent us in Simin Kimbangu a Sanzon who belongs to the black race. He is the chief of Sanzons of all the blacks, and has in fact the same authority as the sanzons of other races such as Moses, Jesus Christ and Buddha. God gave us S. Kimb. who is to us as Moses is to the Jews, X^t to other races, and Muhammed to the Arabs" (quoted, p. 141).

But even in the "orthodox" Kimbapint catechism of 1957, there are messianist references to Simon Kimbanga as "the comforter" of John 14: 12-18, which would equate him with the Holy Spirit; that he was "raised from the dead, and is with us in spirit (which could be misinterpreted as equating his resurre. with that of X^t) - and that he will come again. (p. 143).

But none of this need be interpreted absolutely. Q. 19 in the catechism is ~~ask~~ "Does this mean that S.K. is God?" and the answer is a flat "No" - "but in all eyes and for all people God has chosen a person to enlighten his people. (p. 143 f.)

More important - the 1957 Catechism has been replaced by a new one which does not mention S.K. In this, and in most Kimbapint preaching today, S.K. is simply "praised as the messenger of Christ on earth" - (p. 146). He is an "ambassador", a "prophet", and an "apostle" - (p. 149)

Symbols - its colors are green - for hope - and white - for purity.
- its sign is the water of N'Kamba, where S.K.'s first miracles occurred.
- this water is used in the healings - but all healings and blessings are connected also with prayer + the word of God (p. 153).

Sacraments - ① Baptism - no infant baptism; but "presentation of infants" + blessed.
= when older - the baptism of the spirit (shaken by hand, + rained to his feet. (No water, justified by Mark 1:8 "I have bapt. you with water, but He will bapt. with the H.S.")
② Lord's Supper - still under consideration. What form - Fruit, RC, S.L. Army?
What elements - banana bread or wheat bread?

KIMBANGVISTS

Purpose: "as that of every Christian church, to spread the light of the liberating gospel. It teaches the Holy Bible through the Holy Spirit, love of the good, horror of evil, the practice of truth and divine justice. ~~It~~ ^{we} exalts moral purity, ... peace and progress, love and drawing together of men without destruction of race, class and origin. It seeks to show the importance of men being reconciled through Christ with God and through Him with our neighbour, through the love of God to whom all creatures owe praise, adoration, love and worship above all else. ~~It~~ ^{we} condemns the use of force to settle the problems that divide men." - M. L. Martin, *Propheticity in the Gospel*, p. 30 (1968).

"We] recognize ~~the~~ ^{our} responsibility to evangelize the people in whose ~~land~~ midst God has raised it ^(the ESK) up, and the people who have never yet received the gospel... The ESKSCK guards against all inclination to any political activity incompatible with the exclusively spiritual role that it seeks to play in humanity..."

Organization: Spiritual Head ~~and~~ ^{and} legal representative.
 Chief councillors (2) and 5 sacrificers (3 men + 2 women who survived the 40-yr. persecution).
 National council of 3 centres (Kushasa, Brazzaville + Angola) make up General Assembly

ZAIRE - Unreached.

Unreached Paper 82 - E.R. Dayton, S. Wilson
(Operation World - P.J. Hurst, 1980).

1. Tribes - 200 different tribes (only 14 of which have more than 200,000 people. Various Pygmy tribes total up about 150,000. Most of the tribes have already been at least touched by the gospel - ~~but~~ as is true now in most of Africa. But there are resistant areas + tribes:

Songo - 500,000.

Ngbaka - 700,000

In the Northeast - the Zande (^{Songe (500,000)} 300,000), Bira (³⁵200,000), Baka (80,000), Hunde (300,000)

In the Southeast - the Kuba, Songo and Kuba peoples

Few believers among the forest pygmies (150,000).

2. Languages and Bible translation.

Four important trade languages - Swahili (east), Luba (south), Kongo (west) and Lingala in Kinshasa + north. Literacy only 18%.

The whole Bible has been translated in 18 languages, NT in 21, and portions in another 29. At least 13 other languages need translators.

3. Training of leaders

Greatest need - development of upper-grade, French-medium secondary training, to raise level of training in trade-language Bible schools. Best known center - Ecole de Theologie de Kinshasa.

Missionaries still needed for medical ministries, Bible teaching and theological education.

March 5, 1985

AFRICA - Denominational Families (Statistics) World Bk. Inc. - p 791

Table 3

	1960	1970	1980	
Total Anglicans (affiliated)	521,310 369,430		12,268,730 7,793,170	
Total Pentecostals				6%
Total Presb + Reformed			[13,195,135]	
Orthodox	3,592,950 4,600,250		[6,539,041]	
Non-Wh. Indiv.	42,400 39,200	141,37,210 18,243,770	19,516,530 23,166,682	
Protestant	18,555,883 2,533,590 1,836,980	17,829,900 15,971,367 38,806,790	27,437,000 24,457,725 54,1103,000	14%
Roman Cath.	2,064,270 1,909,712	27,182,284	37,981,313	33%
		52,213,700 45,336,733	76,700,000 66,207,829	40%
Total African Christians (Church affil.)	935,440 8,756,372			
African continental population	107,554,000	170,702,570 115,924,182 351,800,000	262,490,710 164,570,316 460,857,000	Table 1 - p Table 2 - p

Africa - Statistics (World & Sinc.)

C. D. 1980 - 76,789,170 to 151,972,000 in 2000 - + 75,183,000 = + 9.8%
 Prot 1980 54,403,490 to 100,557,240 in 2000 + 46,154,000 = + 8.4%

1980 Largest R.C. countries (adherents)

Angola (90% Rn)	5 million (4,933,300) - 68.7% pop.
Burundi (85% Rn)	3.3 million (3,357,090) - 78.3%
Kenya (73% Rn)	4.1 million (4,141,600) - 26.4%
Madagascar (51% Rn)	2.4 million (2,425,500) - 26%
Nigeria (49% Rn)	8.8 million (8,801,700) - 12.1%
Rwanda (46.8% Rn)	2.1 " (2,170,230) - 51.7%
S. Africa (79.2% Rn)	2.8 " (2,881,500) - 10.1%
Tanzania (44% Rn)	5. " (5,090,700) - 28.2%
Uganda (78.3% Rn)	6.5 " (6,558,000) - 49.6%
Zaire (94.5% Rn)	13.5 " (13,522,000) - 48.4%
Zambia (72% Rn)	1.5 " (1,539,000) - 26.2%
Zimbabwe (58% Rn)	1 " (1,079,000) - 14.4%

Largest Prot. countries (adherents)

Ghana (63% Rn)	3,099,600 (29%) 7 pop.
Kenya (73% Rn)	3,027,500 (19.2%)
Kenya	5,156,000 (26.5%)
Madagascar	2,126,000 (22.8%)
Nigeria	18,656,000 (25.7%)
S. Africa	12,981,000 (38.6%)
Tanzania	2,749,000 (15.2%)
Uganda	3,714,000 (25.1%)
Zaire	8,106,100 (29%)
Zambia	1,939,000 (16%)
Zimbabwe	1,914,000 (25.5%)

Evangelization -

Africa Population
 Unevangelized
 Evangelized

	1900	1970	1980
Africa Population	107,824,000	351,800,000	460,857,000
Unevangelized	82,940,000 (76.9%)	106,544,000 (30.3)	116,671,000 (25.3)
Evangelized	24,883,000 (23.1)	245,256,000 (69.7)	344,185,000 (74.7)

Pentecostal Churches in Africa

Total adherents 13,195,135

Algeria	1,645
Angola	54,000
Benin	42,000
Botswana	20,000
Burundi	90,500
Cameroon	45,700
Central African Rep.	77,300
Chad	5,400
Congo (Brazzaville)	37,000
Egypt	29,000
Ethiopia	118,000
Gabon	1,500
Gambia	

Ghana -	929,707
Guinea -	1,100
Guinea-Bissau	100
Ivory Coast	5,000
Kenya	727,600
Liberia	67,954
Madagascar	23,734
Malawi	29,500
Mauritius	1,500
Mozambique	100
Mozambique	110,000
Namibia	5,000
Niger	250
Nigeria	2,150,727
Reunion	800
Rwanda	85,500
Sao Tome et Principe	500
Senegal	1,500
Sierra Leone	12,300
South Africa	2,783,885
Span. N. Africa	50
Sudan	1,300
Swaziland	81,050

7,539,702

men

Reformed + Presb. - Africa - Total adherents, Africa 6,593,041

United

Algeria -	250	250	
Botswana	5,000	5,000	
Cameroun	215,000 (fr.)	485,883.	
	112,815 (fr.)		
	20,000		
	11,000		
	127,068 (cs)		
Comoros	300	300	
Djibouti	200	200	
Egypt	Cpt. Ev. 100,000	100,500	
	Gr. Bkth 500 - n.Orth.		
Equatorial Guinea	12,000	12,000	
Ethiopia - Bethel Ev.	42,000	42,100	
	OPC 100		
Gabon, Ev. Ch. of	75,000	75,000	
Ghana	Buen-Krochi Pr. 1,000	405,396	
	Ev. Presb. Ch. 122,292		
	Ev. Pr. Ref. Ch. 3,000		
	Presb. Ch. of Ghana 279,104		
Guinea	100	100	
Kenya	Afr. Ev. Presb. Ch. 800	110,287	
	Ind. Presb. C. of E. Af. 3,000		
	Pres. Ch. of E. Af. 100,000		
	Ref. Ch. of E. Af. 6,487		
Liberia	Dutch Ref. 200		
	" in Afr. 4,000		
Liberia - Presb. of Lib.	1,000	1,000	
Libya - Coptic Ev.	2,500	2,500	
Madagascar	Ch. of Prot. Witness t.J. 100	36,397	
	Ref. Evangelical 36,297		
Malawi	Afric. Covenant Ch. 10,000	785,500	
	M. Nat/Intl Ch. 4,000		
	Blackmanic PC 500		
	Ch. of Conts. M. 766,000		
	Last Ch. of Good + Xt 5,000		
Mauritius - Ch. of Scotland	1,000	1,000	
Mayotte -	100	100	
			United Ch. of Africa 204,000
			Ch. of A. X. of M. 881,487
			1,500
2,063,513			

Presbyterian in Africa

Total adherents in Africa: 6,539,041

United

Morocco	- Evangelical Ch.	3,000	=	3,000	
Mozambique	- Ch. CCAP	3,000	}	58,300	United Ch. of Mozambique + Angola 5,000
	Ch. Lus-Mocimais	300			
	Presb. Ch. of M.	50,000			
	Ref. Ch. of M.	5,000			
Namibia		54,000	=	54,000	
Nigeria	Ch. of Xt. among the Tiv.	500,000	}	750,500	Fell. of Ch. of Christ in Nig. 1,746,000
	Ch. of Xt in Nigeria	150,000			
	Presb. Ch. W. Camer.	500			
	Presb. Ch. of Nigeria	100,000			
Reunion	Ref. Ch. of R.	200	=	200	
Rwanda	Presb. Ch. of Rwanda	21,293	=	21,293	
Sao Tome + Principe					
Senegal	Prot. Ch. of Senegal	1,500	=	1,500	
South Africa	Baptist Presb.	66,543	}	2,990,585.	Zulu Jerusalem Ch. in SA 50,000
	Calv. Prot. Ch. of SA	6,000			
	Dutch Ref. in SA (NHK)	175,239			
	Fed. Council of Dutch Ref. SA	2,142,000			
	Free Ch. Scotland	10,000			
	Presb. Ch. of Africa	300,000			
	Presb. Ch. of Southern Afr.	122,000			
	Ref. Ch. in S. Afr.	140,303			
	Ref. Covenant	4,000			
	Tswana Presb. Ch.	20,000			
	United Free Ch. South.	4,500			
Sudan	Ch. of Xt in the Upper Nile	7,000	}	=	8,500
	W. Ch. in the Sudan	1,500			
Swaziland	Dutch Ref. Ch. in Afr.	50	}	=	1,550
	Dutch Ref. Ch.	1,500			
Tanzania	Afric. Natl/instl Ch.	1,000	}	=	6,450
	[Last Ch. of God + the Christ]	5,000			
	Presb. Ch. of E. Afr.	450			
Togo	Wang. Ch. of Togo	56,000		56,000	
Tunisia	Ref. Ch. of Tunisia	200		200	
Uganda	Presb. Ch. of E. Africa	1,000		1,000	
Zaire	Presby. of Zaire	300,000	}	320,000	Ch. of Christ United, Afr. 100,000
	Kinshasa	20,000			
Total to this page				6,336,591	

AFRICAN INDEPENDENT CHURCHES

A whole new category of ecclesiastical bodies, churches, has emerged out of the success of 19th century missions, and the continuing expansion of Christianity in the 20th century. It is the result of the clash of cultures which is an unavoidable part of expanding missions. Where missions does not cross cultural lines, the Christian evangelist is called upon primarily to plant new churches largely in the image of the church from which he or she has been sent.

But once a cultural barrier is crossed, whether the missionary intends for this to happen ^{or not}, the planted chch will sooner or later prove to be different from the sending church. In fact, if it is not, it will probably split into sections more like the sending chch, and other sections of churches more like the receiving culture. Nowhere is this more obvious than in Africa, where a major division of Christianity

has ~~emerged~~ appeared, a division between what are sometimes called "mission churches", that is, churches still ~~closer~~ more or less closely related to the churches from Europe or ~~the~~ America which planted them, and ~~and~~ on the other side, what are sometimes called ^{the} African Independent Churches.

But let me list some other terms often used to describe ~~these~~ this second category. They've been called

African Independent churches (notably in David Barrett
African non-mission

New African religious movement related to Christianity (i.e. a ~~kind~~ "NERM" - new rel. movmt.)
African spinoffs from Christianity

Non-white indigenous churches (African, or other parts of 3rd world) - this is the World Christian Encyclopedia's terminology - and in its statistical charts show what a growing factor the 3rd world indigenous churches have become: (1985)

Roman Catholic 884 m. (18½%) of world's population.

Protestant (+Angl.) 360 m. (7½%)

Orthodox 131 m. (2½%)

Non-white indigenous 77 m. (1½%)

30% (out of 32½% of world's pop)

I am going to use the term "African Independent". It is less technical, and more easily identifiable, though it has its disadvantages. The major weakness is that it tends to imply that the African "mission churches", which are Africa's mainline churches (Roman Catholic, Anglican, Presbyterian, Baptist etc.) are not independent, whereas in truth ~~they are now~~ these major bodies are as independent of the American or European bodies that founded them as what I am calling "African Independent Churches".

Again, to cite statistics, let me show how important these

new religious independent churches are numerically in Africa: (1985) (professing Chr.)

Roman Catholic	90m. 90m. ¹⁹⁸⁵	(17% of Africa's pop.)
Protestants (+ Ang.)	83m. 83m.	(16 ¹⁶ %)
Non-White Independents	32½m. 32½m.	(6%)
Orthodox	22m. 22m.	(4%)

48½% of Africa's Chr. 49.2% of the population.

(World Dir. Chr., p. 782)

African Independent Churches in West Africa - [Source: Lamin Sanneh, West African Christianity: The Religious Impact, Maryknoll: Orbis, 1983]

Let me describe African independency in the African Church in terms mostly of West Africa, following Lamin Sanneh. David Barrett has described it best in East Africa (Schism and Renewal: An Analysis of 6000 Contemporary Religious Movements, London 1968) and Benoit Soudkela for South Africa (Bantu Prophets in South Africa, London, 1948¹⁹⁶¹; and Zulu Zim and some Swazi Zinists, London, 1976).

In Africa as a whole there are some 6000 African Independent Churches, badly fragmented in some large and hundreds of small denominations, in a bewildering variety of costumes, graces, banners, prophets and customs, but growing rapidly: Estimates are they will just about double in membership in the next 15 years)

1900	42,000	professing members
1970	17,800,000	" "
1985	32,700,000	
[2000	60,000,000	(World In Enc., p. 782).

What are they like, these African Independent Churches. Let me describe ~~two or three~~ ^{or four} in West Africa: ① the ~~Harris~~ Prophet Harris Movement in ~~the Gold Coast~~ Liberia, the Ivory Coast and west Ghana, 1913-1915; ② The ^{Praying} Church of the Lord in ~~Benin~~ (Aladura) in Nigeria, ¹⁹²¹; the Cherubim and Seraphim Church in Nigeria, ¹⁹²⁵ and ④ the Christ Apostolic Church, ~~also~~ 1941, also in Nigeria.

1. The Prophet Harris Movement is named for William Wade Harris, a black Liberian who went as a missionary from Liberia to the Ivory Coast in 1910. [G.M. Halciburton, The Prophet Harris, London, 1971, and Harris had attended a Methodist Mission school in Liberia and had been baptized, but was not ordained, and not converted, he said, until he was 21 through the preaching of a black minister of the American Methodist Mission. ~~In person~~ But he did not become a missionary until he was 60.

There is still too much bizarre and cultic chaff among the wheat in this new independent African Christianity. Dr. McClure's letters are full of ^{reference to a} subtle and lingering power of witchcraft even among new Christians. But there is a power too in their midst that comes from simple faith and Biblical insights however faultily grasped, and a harmonious identification ^{of the Gospel} with their own natural culture that is not always as spiritually and theologically uncritical as some outside ^{observers} critics have contended.

Not all African Independent churches fit the stereotype: charismatic, unstable, anti-missionary, syncretistic, separatist and heretical. The forerunner of them all, Prophet Harris, the black missionary from Liberia to the Ivory Coast back in 1910 did not speak in tongues, founded no new church, discouraged any personality cult, preferred British colonialism to Liberian independence and was fiercely loyal to the missionaries. In his white robe, white turban, carrying a Bible, a bamboo cross and a gourd of water for baptism, he trudged from village to village. Adrian Hastings tells how the people would ask, "Are you the great spirit of whom they speak?" And he would reply, "No I am a man coming in the name of God, and I am going to baptize you in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost" (African Christianity, p. 10). Then he would tell them, "I must go on now, but one day the missionaries will come to show you the way". When the missionaries came ten years later, it was almost too late. Thousands had waited, and today's great Methodist church on the west coast is built on the foundation that Prophet Harris laid, but other thousands could not wait. An independent Harrist movement sprang up which is now even larger than the Methodist churches in the Ivory Coast. 10

The greatest of the African Independent churches does not fit the stereotype either. With a constituency of three and a half million, which is larger than the United Presbyterian Church U.S.A., the Church of Jesus Christ on Earth through the Prophet Simon Kimbangu of Zaire is the second largest Protestant denomination in any African country. (~~Rarely, I might say here that the four largest such denominations~~)

② The Church of the Lord, Aladura (which means, in Yoruba, The Praying Church of the Lord) developed out of a split in the Anglican Church of Nigeria, which, if you remember your statistics is one of the five largest churches in the 3rd world (Ch. of Xt, Zaire; Assemb. of God, Brazil; Ashpain, Philippines; Kimbanguist, Zaire; and Anglican, Nigeria - 3 million members). Like the 18th-c. Pietists in Europe, this Church began as a separate prayer group within the larger mainline body. With the German Pietists, the larger body was ^{German} Lutheran; with the Aladura it was Nigerian Anglican. ^{In 1918} An Anglican lay leader, Joseph Shadare (who died in 1962) had a dream, formed a prayer group, and "offered spiritual help" (Sanneh, p. 152) against the influenza plague which swept the whole world that year. About the same time his cousin Sophia Odunlami, "teacher in a nearby Anglican school received an inspiration of the Holy Spirit", she said, against the use of modern medicines, and told the prayer group that the Lord would send healing through a "miraculous rain" of healing water. They called their little group the "Precious Stone";

and soon came across some literature from Faith Tabernacle, a Pentecostal movement in Philadelphia which preached prayer, healing, personal holiness and the millennial return of Christ." (Someb, p. 184). From Faith Tabernacle they also learned to reject infant baptism - and this is what brought them into direct contact conflict with their ^{Anglican} church, St. Saviour's at Ijebu-Ode, which in turn led to a schism in 1921. The movement spread to Ibadan, where a similar group was influenced by Faith Tabernacle in Philadelphia - and in 1930, various branches rather loosely still connected with Faith Tabernacle but now independent in Africa started a revival. It was begun with a 24-yr.-old road-roller (named Babalola) who said he heard voices telling him to quit his job and go and preach. He resisted for 3 days, when suddenly his engine stopped and he couldn't get it started, which he took as a rebuke from God. He went home to pray, - and fast - and was given visions commanding him to preach repentance + judgment, destruction of idols, and healing through prayer.

Huge crowds attended his meetings - in which Shadare (the Anglican lay leader) joined.
 But this was ~~only the precursor~~ ^{all before the actual} of the founding of the very African, ^{very} independent
 Church of the Lord, Aladura. in 1926 - (p. 186).

It was neither Shadare the lay leader from near the large educational city center
 of Ibadan, nor Babalola, the ~~road~~ ^{road} construction worker from the country who founded the
 Praying Church of the Lord, but another Anglican, Oshitelu, who had usurious, condemned
 idolatry and medicine, practiced faith healing, preached the baptism of the Spirit,
 but who broke with Shadare, the original leader of the movement, on the
 question of witchcraft. Shadare used a tolerant approach to the people's
 harmless superstitions. It doesn't help anybody, he said, to know [and
 condemn] somebody for being a witch. (Sommer, p. 186, citing Turner, History of an Independent
 Church: Church of the Lord (Aladura) vol. I, London, 1967, p. 22).

But Oshitelu was more severe and judgmental. Christians must make a clean break
 with the old powers of the witches. He recognized evil even in the spirit world.

But Oshiteles made his own compromises. He "baptized" as it were some spirits of the old superstitions, giving them mysterious 'Holy Names' by which he said he could work miracles. And this produced another split. Some of his followers, remembering their Bibles, said "there is no other name" than Jesus by which we can be saved, and we must give up all other names (Tumoh, p. 23).

Oshiteles not only challenged other independent African Christians, like Shadare, ~~B~~ and the mainline African church, the Anglican, from which he broke saying it loved British money too much; away, he also challenged British colonialism and predicted its catastrophic end; and challenged western forms of worship in African churches. Bang in the drums, he said - the clapping, the dancing, the prostrations, the bowing + shouting, and even the spirits. He claimed to be a child of the universal spirit, and to prove it accepted the title "Doctor of the Psychological" from the National Union of Spiritualists of Nigeria (Sanneh, p. 187).

But he was also an organizer, shrewdly satisfying the women by making his mother the ~~president~~ first lady president of the church - and when she died, her married daughter. He took the title "Primate". He was wise enough to choose a successor, Adejokun, who was allowed, somewhat against Oshitelu's will to go to Scotland to study at the Glasgow Bible Training Institute. "He'll ~~lose~~ lose his faith in Scotland," said the church leaders. But he didn't. Instead he started a branch of the church in England - the "First West African Christian Church in Europe" (Someh, p. 204). And when he returned to Africa, he perceptibly observed the African liturgy of the new church - "the spiritual exercises of rolling on the floor, jumping, bowing, clapping and prostration with characteristic shouts. He did each of these things seven times before the altar. (Ibid, p. 204). In 1960, the Aladura Church was strong & self-confident

enough to turn evangelically economical and join the Billy Graham

evangelistic campaigns in West Africa (Samuel, p. 190). Statistics show 315,000 members in 1975 - but that includes reports from only 15 of the 95 churches that belong to the Nigeria Assoc. of Adadura Churches (W. Kn. Inc. - p. 530 f.) Other related churches (to the Adadura) are the

Cherubim + Seraphim, and the largest of all, the Christ Apostolic Church (Samuel, p. 194)

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NUBIAN CHRISTIANITY: THE NEGLECTED HERITAGE

Paul Bowers

The popular notion that Christianity is only a recent import to Africa is a misperception more widespread and influential on the continent than one might expect. Echoes are not lacking in scholarly literature, even in scholarly Christian literature.¹ The subtle impact of such an assumption within African Christianity must not be underestimated.

Indeed, it is vital to African Christian self-understanding to recognize that the Christian presence in Africa is almost as old as Christianity itself, that Christianity has been an integral feature of the continent's life for nearly two thousand years. John Mbiti was emphasizing just this in his bold statement: "Christianity in Africa is so old that it can rightly be described as an indigenous, traditional and African religion."² And Byang Kato was making the same point when he gave to one of his major addresses the provocative title: "Christianity as an African Traditional Religion."³ In the search for self-identity, which lies so near the heart of the modern African Christian intellectual quest, the long history of Christianity in Africa is a fact needing urgently to be recognized, embraced, and appropriated.

The careful student of African Christian history is well aware that Christianity in North Africa, once so

vibrant and productive, was in due course wiped out by the Arab Islamic conquests beginning in the seventh century. That Christianity began in Ethiopia in the fourth century, and survived continuously into the present, is also familiar. That Christianity in Egypt, planted as early as Pentecost, has also survived into the present, in the Coptic Christian community, is not perhaps as common an awareness as it should be. But that there was another important branch to early African Christianity, a fourth member, is not part of general Christian awareness on the continent. That there was a powerful branch of Christendom in what is now northern Sudan, a Christianity that lasted for more than a thousand years, is till now a fact familiar only to those in Africa who study their church history sources with special care.

We live today amidst the third planting of the Christian faith in this continent. As we seek to grapple with the challenges and dangers presented by the phenomenal growth of Christianity in this third period, we do well to reflect on the fate of the earlier plantings. We are right to inquire why the Portuguese mission along the southwestern coast of Africa, beginning in the fifteenth century, at times took lively root, yet failed to survive, and is today represented only by centuries-old church ruins in the bush south of the Zaire estuary. We do well to ask why the vibrant Christianity of North Africa disappeared, whereas the Egyptian variety survived, albeit as an oppressed minority. And why in contrast did the Ethiopian version manage to sustain an embattled dominance in its remote centres? Curiously enough, the fourth member of early African Christianity followed none of these patterns. Nubian Christianity, as it is called, neither suffered an early eclipse, nor did it become a suppressed minority; it lasted intact from the sixth century well into the fifteenth century, only at last, unlike Ethiopia, to suffer complete extinction. Why this difference?

Until recent times historical scholarship knew very little about this branch of the early church. Oddly enough, we owe today's considerably increased knowledge of Nubian Christianity to a remarkable technological achievement of our own generation, the building of the Aswan High Dam in Egypt not twenty-five years ago. Because the dam would produce an immense lake eventually covering up almost all archaeological remains in the Nile Valley for three hundred miles south of Aswan, an international consortium of archaeological investigations evolved, under UNESCO auspices, to dig out as many hitherto unattended sites as possible before the waters rose. The results of this extraordinary international cooperation included an awesome wealth of fresh information about Nubian Christianity. Fully fifty percent of all sites investigated were from this particular period of Nubian history, and resulted in both spectacular discoveries and a vast accumulation of details.

That African Christianity has been generally unfamiliar in the past with this part of its heritage is not altogether surprising, since what was earlier known about Nubian Christianity was relatively limited. What is altogether surprising is that today so little of the remarkable recent increase of knowledge about Nubian Christianity has yet been assimilated into the standard modern treatments of African Christian history in common use.⁴ Incredibly, virtually no standard presentation on African church history currently available includes any data visibly derived from the extraordinary discoveries of the past twenty-five years on Nubian Christianity.

When one begins to explore the matter, this lacuna in current treatments of African church history unexpectedly turns out to be even broader. Until the 1930s Nubian archaeology had largely neglected the Christian period, and the information available on Nubian Christianity tended to be scanty and dispersed. In 1935 the scholar Monneret de Villard, following his

intensive and comprehensive investigations from 1929 to 1934 into both the material and the literary remains of Christian Nubia, published the first two volumes in his monumental *La Nubia Medievale*.⁵ He followed this in 1938 with his *Storia della Nubia Cristiana*.⁶ With these publications Monneret de Villard at a stroke and single-handedly introduced fifty years ago a whole new era in Nubian Christian research. It is a matter for astonishment to discover that not only do no current standard treatments of African Christian history yet utilize the discoveries flowing from the UNESCO project of the past twenty-five years, but that in addition it is difficult to find any which directly utilize even Monneret de Villard's foundational contribution of fifty years ago. All are apparently dependent almost exclusively on secondary studies representing the state of research preceding Monneret de Villard.

The statement requires the support of some specific data. A brief, slightly technical sleuthing through the main literature will serve this purpose. (Admittedly this will not appeal to all tastes, and some may wish to go on to the next paragraph). To begin with, neither of the two established reference tools in the field, the *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* nor the *New International Dictionary of the Christian Church*, treats Nubian Christianity, though they allocate separate articles to Coptic, Ethiopian, and North African Christianity.⁷ S Neill, in his standard *A History of Christian Missions* (Harmondsworth, 1964), does not discuss Nubia. J Hildebrandt's very useful *History of the Church in Africa* (Achimota 1981), depends for its account of Nubian Christianity primarily on Groves (1948). P Falk, in *The Growth of the Church in Africa* (Grand Rapids, 1979), principally relies on Groves (1948) and Cornevin (1964). By using Cornevin, Falk inadvertently manages a fleeting third-hand contact with a single reference to Monneret de Villard: the historian Cornevin (R Cornevin, *Histoire de l'Afrique* [Paris, 1964]) made use of the Sudan specialist A J Arkell (*A History of the Sudan* [London,

1955]), and Arkell contains one passing reference to Monneret de Villard's *Storia della Nubia Cristiana*. C P Groves's basic study, *The Planting of Christianity in Africa* (London, 1948), relies on Latourette (1938), E A Wallis Budge (*History of Ethiopia, Nubia, and Abyssinia* [London, 1928]), and H A MacMichael (*A History of the Arabs in the Sudan* [Cambridge, 1922]). K S Latourette, in his monumental *A History of the Expansion of Christianity* (Volume II: *The Thousand Years of Uncertainty* [New York, 1938]), employs a wider range of secondary sources, the latest of which included J Kraus (*Die Anfänge des Christentums in Nubien* [Vienna, 1931]), Wallis Budge (1928), and the preliminary reports of discoveries by Monneret de Villard which appeared in the *New York Times* 9 March 1931 and 14, 17 March 1933, prior to full publication of his work.⁸

In short, the standard presentations on Nubian Christianity in current use for African church history are, in the sources used, essentially a half century behind the present state of inquiry, a half century marked by both fundamental and dramatic advances in Nubian Christian studies. This is indeed a neglected heritage.

Ancient Nubia (roughly from Aswan southward to modern-day Khartoum) was a well-known and prosperous land already in Old Testament times. Inhabited by people of dark complexion, it was intimately involved in the history of ancient Egypt. In the Old Testament it is frequently mentioned under the title of "Cush" or "Ethiopia".⁹ The "Ethiopian eunuch" of Acts was in fact not from the land today bearing that name, but from Nubia. (The queenly title given in Acts 5:27, Candace, is peculiar to the ancient Nubian kingdom of Meroe.) In the New Testament period Nubia was in constant intercourse with the Mediterranean world, and maintained diplomatic relations with Rome. While the Apostle Paul was travelling round the Aegean, the emperor Nero dispatched a small expedition to explore the farthest reaches of the Nile, which apparently

penetrated past Meroe all the way to the Sudd region, some six hundred miles south of modern Khartoum, well into the heart of Africa. Seneca, a contemporary of Paul, recounts the report which the two centurions leading the expedition made on their return to Rome.¹⁰ One cannot but wonder what course the spread of the gospel might have taken had Paul heard this report, had his pioneering instincts been aroused by it, and had his life been spared for further missionary effort.¹¹

The Nubian kingdoms officially converted to Christianity about AD 540. The Arab conquest in the next century uncharacteristically floundered when it attempted to extend its sway southward from Egypt along the Nile into Nubia. In the centuries following, the Christian kings of Nubia held their own against the Islamic rulers of Egypt, and at times exerted considerable diplomatic and even military pressure for relief of the oppressed Christian communities of Egypt.

The Nubian church was predominantly Monophysite in theology, in alignment with Coptic Christianity of Egypt, though there is also evidence of strong Byzantine influence as well. The bishops were consecrated by the Patriarch of Alexandria, and apparently many were trained there, and some originated there. At least parts of the Bible were translated into Nubian, as any student of NT Greek can verify (by reference to the apparatus of his **UBS Greek New Testament**, with its indications of ancient manuscripts in a Nubian version).¹² Nubians were familiar pilgrims in the Holy Land in early medieval times, and maintained contacts with the Ethiopian church. Until recently the conventional wisdom was that Nubian Christianity finally succumbed to Islamic encroachment early in the fourteenth century. The latest discoveries and research have established that in fact Christianity was still officially functioning in Nubia late in the fifteenth century (in the very year of Martin Luther's birth) and suggest that tiny remnants of the Christian community may have existed even as

late as the middle of the eighteenth century. Eventually the population was entirely absorbed into the Islamic ethos. Catholic missionaries passing up the Nile in the last century could still find a memory among the tribes that their forebearers had been Christian.¹³

Did Nubian Christianity exert any influence beyond its borders southward and westward in Africa? It is a tantalizing question, with only tantalizing scraps of data, but data begging for further scholarly inquiry. Passage southward along the Nile was always severely limited by the impenetrable swamps of the Sudd, but westward the trade caravans were a normal fact of life. Archaeologists have identified remains of a Nubian monastery in western Sudan near the Chadian border. Nubian artifacts have also been uncovered north of Lake Chad.¹⁴ Franciscan missionaries based in Tripoli early in the 1700s reported rumours, brought across the Sahara by the caravans, of a Christian kingdom south of the Hausa and Bornu states. A Franciscan team was eventually sent on the hazardous errand to try to find out the truth of this. They got all the way to Katsina, but succumbed to disease there before they could complete their mission. Christian symbols were reported in the last century among the royal regalia of a tribal kingdom on the Benue, south of Hausaland, though the religious meaning of the symbols had been forgotten.¹⁵ A missionary trekking from Lake Chad to the Nile at the beginning of this century was told of a tribe nearby which yearly congregated at an ancestral site, held up an ancient sword on which was engraved the sign of the cross, and prayed that God would restore to them the knowledge of the true way to Him of their forefathers, long since lost through conquest by followers of the Prophet.¹⁶

If Monneret de Villard introduced the second era of modern Nubian Christian research, the UNESCO project clearly inaugurated the third era, in a vast outpouring of discoveries and research, begun in the 1960s and

only now starting to ebb. While the results have yet to be exploited by historians of African Christianity, they are altogether familiar to the specialized worlds of archaeology, classical studies, and Egyptology (indeed Egyptologists have long treated Nubian studies as an annex of their own discipline). The UNESCO appeal for international cooperation, issued in 1959-60, received immediate enthusiastic response, with some forty separate expeditions organized from university and research circles, mainly from the developed world, east and west, but including one from India and one from the University of Ghana.¹⁷ Termed the greatest archaeological salvage operation of all time, it captured the imagination of the world especially with the successful removal to higher ground of the temples of Rameses II at Abu Simbel. The cooperative project had largely run its course by 1970, as the new lake reached its full height, though important diggings continued well into the 1970s at Qasr Ibrim, a fortress remaining above water. (At the same time, it should be noted that this vast archaeological endeavour covered only the area to be inundated, and has left numerous important sites south as far as Khartoum still uninvestigated. For that section of Nubia little more is known today than was known before the UNESCO project. There is considerable room for more archaeological work, with the prospect of significant finds.)

A brief sampling of some of the more important results of the UNESCO effort would need to begin with the spectacular discoveries of the Polish expedition, led by Michalowski, which uncovered among desert sands along the Nile the great cathedral at Faras, almost entirely intact. The walls had three layers of plaster, each covered with frescoes. In all there were more than 160 frescoes, of which about half were recovered in a condition permitting display. (Just over fifty of these are now on display in the National Museum in Warsaw, and the remainder may be seen in the National Museum in Khartoum.) In addition, the

Cathedral walls yielded over 400 inscriptions or graffiti, in Greek, Coptic, and Old Nubian, including a list of the bishops of Faras from AD 707 to 1169.¹⁸ At Kasr Ibrim, archaeologists led by Plumley of Cambridge found manuscript fragments scattered over the floor of the cathedral, apparently the remains of the cathedral library, including fragments in Nubian of the Gospel of John, I Corinthians, and Revelation. Nearby were fragments of Isaiah and Jeremiah in Coptic, and of the Gospel of Mark in Greek.¹⁹ Among other interesting discoveries were the ecclesiastical parchments found buried with one of the bishops, Timotheos, which proved to be his ordination documents from the Coptic Patriarch of Egypt, dated in the 1370s.²⁰ A copy of a letter from the Muslim ruler of Egypt to the Nubian government, dated 758, appears to be the oldest extended document in Arabic in existence anywhere.²¹ From Christian Nubian remains at the village of Meinarti, Adams was able to establish a pottery chronology covering 800 years of Nubian Christian history, now a standard index for archaeological dating in the period.²²

Early reports on the Nubian Christian discoveries began to appear in scholarly journals in the 1960s. The 1970s saw publication of major comprehensive reports. Evaluation of the discoveries so far tends to predominate in the literature of the 1980s, though final reports on the various archaeological efforts have not all yet been published. Scholarly interest has been sustained and channeled not least through a series of international conferences, each followed by publication of the papers there given, and through the International Society for Nubian Studies, which grew out of these conferences and is now the principal focal point of ongoing scholarly cooperation in the field. These conferences and their resulting publications have come to mark out the course of scholarly discussion in the past fifteen years. The first conference took place in Essen, Germany, in 1969. The second meeting, in Warsaw in 1972, saw organization of the

International Society for Nubian Studies. The conferences since have been at: Chantilly, France, in 1975; Cambridge, England, in 1978; and Heidelberg, Germany, in 1982.²³ The next conference is scheduled for Uppsala, Sweden, in August, 1986.²⁴

Those looking for up-to-date authoritative material on Christian Nubia in English will find that the most complete and readable treatment remains the three chapters devoted to Christian Nubia in the massive volume **Nubia: Corridor to Africa**, by William Y Adams.²⁵ Another basic treatment appears in the second volume of the **Cambridge history of Africa**, contributed by P L Shinnie.²⁶ A third valuable study in English will be found in the second volume of the UNESCO series **General History of Africa**, contributed by K Michalowski.²⁷ (Apparently additional authoritative articles on Christian Nubia may be expected in succeeding volumes of the UNESCO series.) Researchers will find solid guidance to further literature on the subject in the extensive notes provided by Adams and Michalowski, and in the selected bibliography on Christian Nubia at the end of the Cambridge volume.²⁸ Beyond this the serious inquirer will want to explore the numerous articles (in various languages) in the volumes accompanying the international scholarly conferences mentioned above.²⁹ One would also want to keep an eye on the new journal (till now only one issue, in 1982) **Nubia Christiana** (Warsaw).³⁰ A standard review of current research and publication on ancient Nubia was included in successive surveys by J Leclant, "Fouilles et travaux en Egypt et au Soudan", published in **Orientalia** from 1971 onward, and continued from 1978 by P van Moorsel and J Debergh. Professor van Moorsel informs me that he hopes to continue these surveys in the new journal **Nubian Letters** (Leiden).³¹ Those needing to find their own way into the more remote data will find ready access through these principal sources.

Most of the literature so far mentioned would prove too technical for the acquisition interests of theological

libraries in Africa. Not so the recent popular contribution of G Vantini, **Christianity in the Sudan** (Bologna, 1981). Fully familiar with earlier research on Nubian Christianity, and building on a thorough review of ancient and often obscure oriental written sources, Vantini is also abreast of the latest archaeological findings.³² He includes 35 well-selected photographs from the archaeological discoveries, 7 maps, and a useful chronological table. The book is also valuable for a section on the Christian church in modern Sudan, Catholic and Protestant, which has suffered so much under Islamic harassment since independence up to the immediate present--though Vantini, resident in Khartoum, allows himself to touch on these matters only briefly and cautiously. While the book maintains a relatively popular style throughout, one must acknowledge a tendency to throw together odds and ends of data in long unintegrated sections, which are consequently not very readable. All the same, Vantini's work certainly deserves to be in every serious theological library in Africa. The publishers generously inform me that they will make copies available to the libraries of theological colleges in Africa at a discount.³³

The most serious deficiency of Vantini's study is that it is not an adequate guide to the modern scholarly resources. No bibliography is provided, and the specific references to sources scattered through the notes prove an incomplete index to the relevant literature. As a result, the book cannot serve the serious student as an entrance to more detailed inquiry. Indeed there is no popular survey to which one could be referred for this purpose. For this particular deficiency I have attempted to provide partial compensation in this paper.

Among the major questions which continue to exercise Nubian Christian research are when and how Christianity began there, and even more puzzling when and why it became extinct. According to a report contemporary

with the events, by the Greek ecclesiastical writer John of Ephesus, the most northern Nubian kingdom was successfully evangelized by Byzantine missionaries under the emperor Justinian about AD 540, followed by the conversion of the other two Nubian kingdoms further south within the next few years. This has long been given by standard works as the date when Nubian Christianity began. But archaeologists have now uncovered evidence of Christianity in Nubia predating 540, including a humble church of unbaked bricks at Faras perhaps from as early as the middle of the preceding century, and Christian correspondence at Qasr Ibrim which seems to be from the same period.³⁴ Apparently Christianity had already penetrated the lower classes some generations before the official national conversion reported by John of Ephesus. This is not surprising, since intercourse with Egypt was constant, and a Christian bishopric had existed at Philae, on Egypt's border with Nubia, from early in the fourth century. In any case changes in burial customs indicate a rapid adoption of Christianity not only by the ruling classes but also by the common people of Nubia in the latter half of the sixth century.

The question when Christianity ended in Nubia is more perplexing. Conventional wisdom has used the date of 1317, when a church at Dongola, capital of the middle Nubian kingdom, was reputedly turned into a mosque, suggesting the collapse of Christian Nubia early in the fourteenth century. A Muslim ruler did ascend the throne at Dongola for the first time in the 1320s. But recent research has shown that the building in which the mosque in question was set up was not a church but a palace, and that churches continued in Dongola after this mosque had been established in the king's quarters--which suggests a Muslim ruler not intending to alienate his Christian subjects (a situation similar to that in Egypt for some centuries following the Islamic conquest). The formal ordination documents for Bishop Timotheos from the 1370s suggests continuing organized church life well after the first

Muslim assumed the throne.

A more recent theory appearing in standard histories is that Christianity ended with the overthrow in 1504 of Alwa, the southern Nubian kingdom centered at Soba near modern Khartoum. But modern opinion now tends to concur with the argument that we do not know when the Christian kingdom of Alwa fell, but that it happened some time before 1504, a date actually applying not to the fall of Soba but to the founding of a successor Islamic state.³⁵ Archaeologists have now come up with solid material evidence that a Nubian Christian sub-kingdom in one part of Nubia was still functioning officially, with king and bishop, as late as 1484.³⁶ Perhaps then, Christian Nubia as a political entity ended sometime close to 1500. How much longer small communities of Christians may have survived in Islamic Nubia is another question. A sixteenth century Portuguese missionary in Ethiopia, Alvarez, reports a Nubian delegation arriving there in the 1520s to beg the Ethiopians to supply them with trained religious leaders--which the Ethiopians felt unable to do. Another report of the period mentions a group of Nubians who were "neither Christians, Muslims, nor Jews, but they live in the desire of being Christians." As late as 1742 the Nubian servant of a Franciscan in Cairo reported a single isolated Christian community still existing in his homeland, in the region of the Third Cataract, despite persecution.³⁷

Why, then, did Nubian Christianity finally collapse, after more than a thousand years of sometimes vigorous existence? On close inspection the scholars have concluded that there are no simple answers. Though external pressures played a key role, it did not fall to direct military conquest. Archaeologists find very few Nubian churches that had been converted into mosques or destroyed by violence; rather the churches fell into disuse and were abandoned.³⁸ It is a complex story. The Muslim rulers of Egypt had made a treaty

with the Nubians in 650, which kept relations more or less manageable for six hundred years. But when the militant Mameluke rulers seized power in Egypt about 1260, they adopted a hostile stance towards Nubia. This coincided with a period of dynastic struggles within Nubia, which the Mamelukes exploited, inducing persisting instability in Nubia, and leading eventually to erosion of the military prowess and political coherence which had so long protected the country.

At about the same time the nomadic tribes of the desert to the east, infiltrated and Islamized by unprecedented waves of immigration from Arabia, began to press upon and threaten Nubia as well. Competing Nubian factions sought advantage by alliance with the leadership of some of these tribes, and relations were confirmed by strategic marriages, so that in due course offspring raised as Muslims assumed key roles in Nubian society by natural legal and social processes, and eventually the throne itself. Meanwhile the restless Islamized tribes of the desert began to crowd against and spill over the Nubian defenses, defenses for centuries effectively organized to control immigration pressures southward along the Nile from Arab Egypt, but unable to prevent overwhelming nomadic infiltration from the desert. The indigenous populations eventually found themselves reduced to isolated enclaves in the midst of a sea of Arabized nomadic tribes, which the Nubian military and political structures, already destabilized by external interference and compromised by internal dynastic struggles and alliances, could not contain. It seems that, under such pressures, what was left of Nubian society became demoralized, fell apart, and eventually disappeared into the populations that had overrun it. Nubian Christianity simply followed in the course of this social disintegration.

Why? Scholarship has suggested several reasons.³⁹ For one thing, it seems that Nubian Christianity had lost much of its spiritual vitality. Archaeologists note how the churches of Nubia in the later centuries become

progressively smaller and unassuming, as the residences of the ruling class become more elaborate. In addition the laity became increasingly distanced from the central religious events, as the mediating role of the clergy came to occupy the entire church experience--literally in fact, for, in the evolution of Nubian church architecture, in the end there was no space for the laity left in the church sanctuary; they were relegated to the outside, with the church proper reserved for the functions of the clergy. Sacerdotalism had got out of hand. Also church and state were always deeply intermingled in Nubia. Kings held priestly status, and bishops exercised political functions. Given such arrangements, when the political structures collapsed, the church was inevitably entangled in the ruin. Furthermore, like so many churches of the period, the Nubian church through the centuries had, under pressure of social conformity, largely lost touch with its spiritual roots. The models of its life were not constantly placed under the judgment of an apostolic standard. When the final crisis came, a deep overlay of traditions had rendered the resources of a vital biblical Christianity inaccessible.

The gradual disintegration of Nubian Christianity must also be attributed to the persisting isolation from the larger Christian family which it suffered. The Muslim conquests of the earlier centuries had made contact with international Christianity difficult. Relations with the Coptic community in Egypt were close, but the Copts were not in theological fellowship with the larger body of Christendom. When the Mamelukes savagely suppressed the Coptic Church in the thirteenth century, and at the same time turned hostile towards Nubia, Nubian Christianity was left stranded, largely forgotten by its sister churches. It is noteworthy that, though both the Coptic and Ethiopian churches were represented at the great ecumenical Council of Florence (1439-45), no one at the Council seems to have noticed the absence of representatives from Nubia.

Finally, it appears the Nubian church could not survive because through the centuries it had depended for leadership on outside sources, and had failed to develop the means for generating trained leadership locally. When it therefore lost contact with the Coptic Patriarchate, it suffered a fatal blow. Its dependency on external arrangements for leadership preparation proved fatal. When the voice of Nubian Christianity is last heard in history, it is requesting priests from Ethiopia. These were not forthcoming—and Nubian Christianity was never heard from again.

But perhaps on reflection it is amazing that Nubian Christianity lasted as long as it did, surrounded as it was for so many centuries by hostile forces, afflicted by internal crises, and cut off from easy contact with fellow believers. Granted the failings, granted the erosions, is it not something that, even with a limited understanding of and response to the demands of the Christian message, they nevertheless managed to stand faithful generation after generation? Taking due warning from their experiences, must we not also with all empathy and humility "hold such in honour"? Is not here indeed a true and noble heritage for African Christianity, to be rejoiced in, to be learned from, a heritage worthy of much closer acquaintance than has hitherto been its lot? This paper has barely touched the surface of what is now known about Nubian Christianity thanks to the recent remarkable advances in research. And much more may yet come to light--archaeology has only begun the systematic exploitation of potential Christian Nubian sites. Here are rich opportunities for dedicated field research, for learned dissertations and theses, and for thoughtful presentations and popularizations, not least in the handling of African church history in our theological colleges. Will African Christianity take up the quest? Will the day soon come when Nubian Christianity can no longer be called a neglected heritage?

Notes

1 Note how the notion has slipped inadvertently into an analysis by the noted African church historian Ogbu Kelu of Nigeria, when he writes: "Certainly some parts of Africa, the Maghrib for example, were touched by the medieval Christianization process and other parts experienced the Christian incursion in the Renaissance period, but the major part of Africa witnessed the incursion only in the recent past" ("Doing Church History in Africa Today" *Church History in an Ecumenical Perspective*, ed L. Vischer [Bern, 1982] 86).

Another contemporary African Christian scholar, Kwame Bediako of Ghana, has written, "Islam can also, with greater weight than Christianity, claim deeper historical roots in Africa" ("Gospel and Contemporary Culture", *The Gospel and Contemporary Ideologies and Cultures* [Lagos, 1979] 30). If "deeper historical roots" means older roots, the statement is of course in error. African Christianity is much older than Islam. If the statement means that historically the roots of Islam have penetrated deeper into the African soil, it is difficult to see how roots could be put deeper than Christianity has done historically in Egypt and Ethiopia. Probably the thought behind the statement is not that Islam is older or has been more deeply rooted in Africa, but that historically such in-depth rooting has been more widespread for Islam than for Christianity in Africa. That is not what the statement says. But if that is what was meant, a case could certainly be made for it, and one that African Christianity needs to ponder. And yet even here one must express himself cautiously, for south of the Sahara the in-depth rooting of Islam, beyond the governing circles out among the common people, is in many places only a matter of the last few centuries (e.g. for most of northern Nigeria only since dan Fodio's jihad at the beginning of the 1800s), and in not a few places it is a development of this century. In most cases only from the Sahara northward and along the East African coast are deep Islamic roots more than half a millennium old.

2 *African Religions and Philosophy* (NY, 1969) 229.

3 *Biblical Christianity in Africa* (Achimota, 1985).

- 4 For the texts on Africa church history in common use among theological colleges on the continent, see "A Survey of Textbooks Used in Theological Colleges in Africa" ACTEA Tools and Studies No. 4 (Nairobi, 1983) 6.
- 5 (Vol I, II: Cairo, 1935; Vol III, IV: Cairo, 1957).
- 6 (*Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 118; Rome, 1938).
- 7 In contrast, the *New Catholic Encyclopedia* includes an article on "Nubia", by B. G. Trigger (Volume X [Washington, DC, 1967] 548-49), which makes reference both to Monneret de Villard and to the UNESCO PROJECT.
- 8 J. A. Ilevbare's "Christianity in Nubia" (Early African Christianity, *Tarikh* ii.1 [London, 1967])--which first introduced me to this fascinating topic--shows no awareness of the UNESCO discoveries, depending on Arkell, Groves, and Wallis Budge. But the publishers included with the article tantalizing photographs of the Faras cathedral discoveries.
- 9 OT Hebrew uses "Cush", which the LXX, except in the ethnographic lists of Genesis and I Chronicles, mostly translates by the Greek "Aithiopia". The AV and RSV follow the LXX, translating the Hebrew "Cush" by the English "Ethiopia" in most cases. But since "Ethiopia" denotes a different geographical region today, some current English versions now translate "Cush" as "Nubia", which for modern usage is the technically correct designation for the area intended.
- 10 *Natur Quaest* vi.8.
- 11 Cf. P. Bowers "Paul and Religious Propaganda in the First Century", *Novum Testamentum* xxii (1980) 316-323.
- 12 See B. M. Metzger, "The Christianization of Nubia and the Old Nubian Version of the New Testament", *Historical and Literary Studies* (Grand Rapids, 1968) 111-122; *ibid.*, *The Early Versions of the New Testament* (Oxford, 1977) 268-74.

- 13 Groves, II.82-83.
- 14 A. J. Arkell, "A Christian Church and Monastery at Ain Farah, Darfur" *Kush* vii (1959) 115-19; "The Mediaeval History of Darfur" *SNR* xi (1959) 44-47; "The Influence of Christian Nubia in the Chad Area between AD 800 - 1200", *Kush* xi (1963) 315-19.
- 15 R. Gray, "Christian Traces and a Franciscan Mission in the Central Sudan, 1700-1711", *Journal of African History* viii (1967) 383-93; cf. A. B. Mathews, "The Kisra Legend", *African Studies* ix (1950) 144-47.
- 16 M. Nissen, *An African Church is Born* (Copenhagen, 1968) 17.
- 17 The standard popular account is in R. Keating, *Nubian Rescue*, London, 1975; cf. M. S. Drower, *Nubia: A Drowning Land* (Harlow, 1970); W. B. Emery, *Lost Land Emerging* (New York, 1967). For the Ghana expedition see P. L. Shinnie, "The University of Ghana Excavations at Debeira West", *Kush* xii (1964) 212-14.
- 18 K. Michalowski, *Faras, Centre Artistique de la Nubie Chretienne* (Leiden, 1966); *ibid.*, *Faras, die Kathedrale aus dem Mustensand* (Zurich/Cologne, 1967).
- 19 J. M. Plumley and C. H. Roberts, "An Uncial Text of St Mark in Greek from Nubia" *JTS* xxvii (1976) 34-45.
- 20 J. M. Plumley, *The Scrolls of Bishop Timotheos* (London, 1975).
- 21 J. M. Plumley, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 1xi (1975) 241-5.
- 22 W. Y. Adams, "An Introductory Classification of Christian Nubian Pottery", *Kush* x (1962) 245-88; *ibid.* "The Evolution of Christian Nubian Pottery", *Kunst und Geschichte Nubiens in Christlicher Zeit*, ed. E. Oinkler (Recklinghausen, 1970) 111-28.
- 23 The publications related to these meetings, from Essen to Cambridge, are respectively: E. Oinkler, ed. *Kunst and*

Geschichte Nubiens in Christlicher Zeit (Recklinghausen, 1970); K. Michalowski, ed. *Nubia: Recentes Recherches* (Warsaw, 1975); [J. Leclant and J. Vercoutter, eds.] *Etudes Nubiennes* (Cairo, 1978); J. M. Plumley, *Nubian Studies*, (Warminster, 1982). Not part of the same series of conferences and publications, but nevertheless of equal importance were the "Colloquium on Nubian Studies" at the Hague in 1979, and its attendant volume: P. van Moorsel, ed. *New Discoveries in Nubia* (Leiden, 1982).

24 Information on the International Society for Nubian Studies, may be secured from its secretary, Prof. Dr. Paul van Moorsel, Groenoord 136, 2401 AH--Alphen a/d Rijn, Netherlands. Information on the Uppsala conference in 1986 may be obtained from the secretary of the organizing committee, Prof. Tomas Hagg, University of Bergen, Dept of Classics, PO Box 23, 5014 Bergen, Norway.

25 (Princeton, 1977) 433-546.

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33 Copies may be ordered from Editrice Missionaria Italiana, Via Roncati 32, 40134 Bologna, Italy. The price is \$13, but the publishers inform me that theological libraries in Africa will be allowed a 30% discount. They also state that the supply of copies is now limited.

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38 Of some 150 Nubian churches so far identified, less than a half dozen had been converted at some time into mosques.

39 In addition to the important article by Adams referred to in note 37 above, see, e.g., W. H. C. Frend, "Nomads and Christianity in the Middle Ages", *Journal of Eccl. Hist* xxvi (1975) 209-21; J. S. Trimingham, *Islam in the Sudan* (London, 1949) 75-80; G. Vantini, *Christianity in the Sudan* (Bologna, 1981) 206-07; Y. F. Hasan, *Sudan in Africa* (Khartoum, 1971) 124-28.

Communicating the Gospel in Africa: The African Independent Churches.

Let me begin with two probably unnecessary but very important observations about communicating the gospel in Africa, from our western culture perspective.

First, ^{any mission outreach from N. America must discipline itself} ~~we must disabuse ourselves~~ of the notion that we are pioneers, bringing the first light of the gospel to the so called "dark-continent". Two things are wrong about that. One: - African Christianity is a lot older than our Christianity. And two - African Christianity is growing a lot faster than our Christianity. A little humility is in order, which isn't easy to come by in western culture.

As a point of ^{communication} contact, in our ^{approach to Africa} ~~communication with Africa~~ and in the African's own self-understanding of themselves, ~~as Christians~~ whether as Christians or as in contact with Christians, it is well to remember that Christianity has been a presence in that continent for ~~just~~ about 2000 years. Paul Bowers, in an article in the East Africa Journal of Evangelical Theology (vol. IV. 1, 1985, p. 3) quotes the African Theologian John Mbiti, "Christianity ~~has~~ in Africa is so old that it can rightly be described as an indigenous, traditional and African religion" (African Religion and Philosophy, NY, 1969, p. 229)

Bowers goes on to point to four ancient roots of African Christianity in the earliest years of church history stretching back as far as Pentecost: ~~Egypt, North Africa and Ethiopia~~ three are familiar - Egypt, North Africa and Ethiopia. The fourth has been forgotten, Nubian Christianity. ~~The~~ Islam destroyed the church in North Africa in the 7th century ~~and~~ but it also conquered

Egypt, but ~~the neighboring church~~ in Egypt ^{the church} survived the conquest. Why and how? There are 7½ million Christians (Copts, they are called, which means Egyptian, not Arab) in Egypt; almost none in all the rest of North Africa from Libya to Morocco. [But still 100,000 RC in Morocco] — But ~~they are~~ ^{the Copts of Egypt remain} ~~quite Bumer again~~, only ^{as} an "oppressed minority". ^{But to the south, in Ethiopia,} ~~Ethiopian, or the other~~ Christianity, ~~on the other hand~~, was neither destroyed by Islam ~~like as in~~ like the North African churches, ^{more} ~~like~~ like Copts did it become an oppressed minority under alien rulers, ^{Ethiopia} ~~it~~ remained a ^{practically independent and} Christian kingdom down to our own times, Ethiopia a survivor, tough & proud and black & Christian under its Emperors, the "lion of the tribe of Judah." You may ~~see~~ see one of these survivors, Bp. Paulos of Ethiopia eating over at McKay Center. He's working on a doctorate here at Princeton.

The least known of these ancient African Christian groups is the Nubian. As Bumer writes, it followed none of the above patterns. "[Nubian Christianity... neither suffered an early eclipse [like N. Africa], nor did it become a suppressed minority [like the Copts]; it lasted intact from the 6th century ^(and probably as early as 450 AD - Bumer, p. 147) well into the fifteenth century, only at the last, unlike Ethiopia, to suffer complete extinction." (p. 4) [Bumer's source - the much quoted volumes by Monneret de Villard, *La Nubie Médiévale*, I, II (1935) III (1957) and his *Storia della Nubia Cristiana*, in *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 118 (Rome, 1938).

Nubia is the "land of Cush" (sometimes wrongly translated Ethiopia in the Bible — the "Ethiopian eunuch" of Acts was from Cush or Nubia — ad "Candace" is a Nubian name. (p. 7)

[See also M. Nissen, *An African Church is Born*, Copenhagen 1968, p. 17 — for story of the tribal sword/cross, R. Keating, *Nubian Rescue*, London, 1975 a popular account of the rescue. Best English source is William F. Adams, *Nubia: Corridor to Africa*, Princeton, 1977. 3 chapters, pp. 433-546. Also G. Vantini, *Christianity in the Sudan*, Bologna, 1981.]

Nubia, like India which also had a very early Christian church, was in New Testament times "in constant intercourse with the Mediterranean world," and had even more formal diplomatic relations with Rome. Ptolemy tells of an expedition dispatched by Nero which penetrated 600 miles south of Khartoum, into the heart of Nubia - all this while Paul was on his missionary journeys in Greece and Asia Minor (pp 7, 8).

But it was not until 540 AD that the Cushite kingdoms of Nubia formally converted to Christianity. It was monophysite in theology, not dyophysite like the Nestorians in Persia, and not Chalcedonian like the Orthodox and Catholic west. Parts of the Bible were translated into Nubian (B. Metzger, "The Christianization of Nubia and the Nubian version of the NT", *Historical and Literary Studies (Cairo Papers)*, 1968, pp. 111-122). Unlike Egypt, Christian Nubia threw back the Islamic advance ^{toward central} ~~south~~ Nubia, and ^{the Nubians} remained Christian ^{in part at least} until the time of Martin Luther. (p. 8)

The dates are: ① most northern Nubian kingdom, according to John of Ephesus, was ^{officially} evangelized from Constantinople about 540 AD, under the emperor Justinian (p. 14), but a century earlier, probably around 450 AD missionaries from Egypt had begun to plant churches across the border in Nubia (p. 14).

② Nubian Christianity did not end, according to Brewer (citing W. Y. Adams, *Nubia*; and ~~F. N. B.~~ N. B. Millet in *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*, vi, 1967, pp. 53-82) until about the year 1500, ~~perhaps~~ with a Christian sub-kingdom and a bishop "still functioning.. as late as 1484." ~~Sp. Though~~ older sources still give 1317 as the end, when a church at Dongola, capital of the middle kingdom, was converted into a mosque. Brewer gives 5 reasons: —

- ① While resisting direct Islamic attack from Modernized Egypt on the north, Nubia began to crumble before Islamized desert tribes from its unguarded desert borders - infiltrating and eventually outnumbering the Nubia population. (p. 16)
- ② Nubian Christianity "lost much of its spiritual vitality". Archaeology shows the churches getting smaller, the clergy becoming out of touch with the laity - the church seemed to be reserved for the celebration of liturgies by the priests, the laity were kept outside. ³ And politics + religion were inter-mixed; "the kings held priestly status". (p. 17).
- ③ Isolation from other churches. Nubian Christianity was cut off from Mediterranean Christianity by Islam. (p. 17)
- ④ Its trained leadership, the priests, came from outside - Egypt & Ethiopia. "When the voice of Nubian Christianity is last heard in history, it is requesting priests from Ethiopia." (p. 18).

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whole African continent lies in the hands of the Indegenous Independent Spiritual Churches. They are growing (quantitatively) and developing (qualitatively) much faster than the established-historical Churches. This claim by the writer is not only true in Ghana or the whole continent of Africa but it is also true for other Third World countries.

Prophecy in Ghana by C. G. Baeta.

Having come from the similar situation, I personally believe that there is more to it than what the writer has claimed. But at the same time I agree with the writer about the successful growth and the development of the spiritual churches in Ghana or in Africa or in Asia or in the South Pacific. I am convinced ^{say like} that the success of the spiritual churches is due to the fact that they adapt and adopt less formal, more lively form of indogenous worship with the use of native musical instruments. They have arisen as a result of the lack of sympathetic understanding of local problems on the part of the parent Churches (established-historical Churches). The leaders of these churches are not abnormal or primitive traditional fanatics, as some people claim, but are psychologically and sociologically normal people. These churches ^{have} arisen not as a result of psychological upheaval tensions and conflicts, anxieties, acculturation, technology and Western impact, although it remains a matter of opinion. They appear to be perennial phenomenon of people's life style and the basic element in these churches seems to be cultural and traditional in character. The leaders are those individuals ^{and regarded} endowed with distinct personality, christianized and beloved by the followers to be special persons. One must also realize that these churches have features of primitive religion and are established by indogenous christian leaders (as well described in Baeta's book). The leaders while borrowing several elements from the 'established-historical Churches, have on the whole, follow the basic traditional pattern of organization of native communities. They use their doctrines and practices to create new communities, to maintain revitalized traditional values of strong family and tribal ties, and take a more definite and compromising theological and ethical stand against some of the teachings and interpretations of the established Churches. But at the same time the spiritual churches represent a turning away from traditional or super-natural succour and focus their attention on the power and sovereignty of God whom they acclaim as God of gods and Spirit of spirits.

Refer to bottom

In conclusion, I personally feel that the book does not give a fair picture of relationship between the Established or Mission Churches and the Indegenous Independent Churches. It is mainly focused on the establishment, growth and development of the Indegenous Spiritual Churches. In this regard it fails to bring out how these two Churches can work together as partners in trying to expand and extend the Kingdom of God through the work and witness of the Universal Church. But on the other hand I feel that the book is purposely written to deal with the distinctive features of the Indegenous Spiritual Churches in a particular context. To this end, I would urge anyone wanting to know more about 'how indegenous Independent spiritual churches' grow and develop in Ghana or Africa as a whole, should not forget to read the book, Prophetism In Ghana written by C.G.Baeta.

10/10/1971

PROPHETISM IN GHANA

by C.G. Baeta

In this informative research, Dr. Baeta, brings into attention some of the distinctive features of the Christian Sectarians in Ghana. These Sectarians are sometimes referred to as, religious movements, separatist religious movements and spiritist movements. For Baeta, they are better known as, Spiritual Churches. Baeta observes that these churches are becoming an object of great concern to the old and well established historical Churches in Ghana. They constitute a great challenge and menace to the normal growth and development of a healthy type of Christianity in the country.

In that regard, the writer very carefully deals with some of the important questions which the established-historical Churches are asking concerning the spiritual churches. Such questions as; Who are these churches? What are their origins? What are their beliefs, practices and teachings? Who joins them and what happens when they join them? How are they organized, controlled, nurtured and maintained? Are they viable and serious rivals of and alternatives to the older established Churches? In answer to these questions, the writer intelligently discusses (historically, sociologically, culturally and theologically) five of the well known and firmly established spiritual churches which are becoming fastest growing independent, indigenous churches in Ghana. The writer discusses their origin, beliefs, practices, teachings, the reasons why people join them, what kind of people join them, their organizational structure, policies and regulatory rules, theological positions, scriptural interpretation, nature and characteristics of leadership, theological and educational programs, the reasons of their growth and development and many others. The whole book is primarily based on these five major and other small spiritual churches in Ghana. The description portrayed of these churches by the writer is very fascinating and it challenges the policy and strategy of the foreign missions today. More challenging is the fact that the writer believes that the future of Christianity in Ghana and the

15 a)

Bengt G. M. Sundkler's Bantu Prophets in South Africa examines the phenomenon of "native separatist churches" by focusing on one type of church-- "Zionist"--in one tribe of one particular nation--the Zulu of South Africa. Because his work is specific, Sundkler can offer not merely a broad description of the causes of the "fissiparous tendencies" (page 299) of African churches, but also an examination of the actual practices and characters of some of these churches. And Sundkler contends that if a discussion of the causes of separatism is not well-grounded in such an understanding of "what leaders and followers of these churches [actually] do and believe" (page 295), the discussion is invalid. Hence, his book begins with a chapter on the religious and social background of the Zulus and ends with a study of how Zionist Zulus have blended their traditional religion with Christianity. The intervening chapters deal with the history of the independent church movement and the government's policies towards the new sects, as well as ^{with} the structure and rituals of the Bantu Zionists. In particular, chapter four discusses the nature of the church in various types of communities--the city, the farm, the reserve; chapter five deals with the relationship between Zionist leaders and followers, and chapter six explains Zionist practices in worship and healing.

Through this type of study, the causes of separatism clearly emerge. In Sundkler's opinion, they are three: ¹ "the colour-bar of White South Africa," ² "Protestant denominationalism," and ³ "a nativistic-syncretistic interpretation of the Christian religion" (pages 295, 297). Sundkler argues that separation from Mission churches most often comes about because of disillusionment with the color-bar within those churches and because the color-bar throughout society

3 causes

1.95

forces Africans to release their desire for power and influence in the only avenue available to them: the independent African church. The example of the Western Church, with all her bickering factions, only serves the Zulus as a justification for their separatism. Finally, a lack of sound theological training and a certain tribal conservatism make syncretistic sects more appealing than truly Biblical churches.

See next page for positive reaction from Kida →

My personal reactions to this book were mixed. In places I found it dull, particularly in the beginning. Sundkler's history is too specific and too factual--not sufficiently anecdotal. The chapter on syncretism, "New Wine in Old Wineskins" I found fascinating, however--especially Sundkler's explanation of how the Zulu expect to have and apparently actually do have certain kinds of stereotyped dreams. One of Sundkler's attitudes throughout the book perturbed me: he tends to denigrate Pentecostals and to see their "hot-gospel" (page 299) teachings as a major stimulus for African heresy. Although there is probably some truth in his analysis, I think he has unnecessarily lumped all types of Pentecostals together. On the other hand, one of his attitudes I wholeheartedly applaud: he argues that the great need in missions to South Africa is for all Biblical denominations to stand together in the love of Christ and ^{thus} shine as an example of unity to the Zulus. On the whole, then, I found Bantu Prophets in South Africa a worthwhile and scholarly work; its very subject matter certainly provokes thought.

Good review

BENS N
copy

The Church of Jesus Christ on Earth
By the Prophet Simon Kimbangu -
A Brief Summary

Published by the
Author, 1963
J. Moffett

Bibliography

"I thank thee Almighty God,
 maker of heaven and earth.
 The heaven is thy throne and the
 earth is thy footstool.
 Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven.
 Bless all peoples of the earth, great and small,
 men and women, whites and blacks.
 May the blessing of heaven fall on the
 whole world
 so that we all might enter heaven.
 We pray to thee trusting that thou dost receive us,
 In the name of Jesus Christ our Saviour.
 Amen.

A prayer of Simon Kiribangu

suffering so much. Whenever we meet for prayers we are arrested by your soldiers. In order not to burden your people with added work we shall all gather - unarmed - in the stadium, where you can arrest us all at once, or send us to the camps." As a result of this petition the Governor-General granted them religious toleration. Official recognition of the Church was granted on Christmas 1959. Present Church membership according to the "World Book Encyclopedia"¹⁰ is 3,500,000. Some would argue that this membership (actually members plus affiliated) includes marginal Christians. Kadavran and Riddle, in their work¹¹ state in part, "...Independents may well get their large figures by including many Marginal Christians, who, though by their own confession are neither Animists or Pagans. Marginals announce themselves as "Christians," but do not attend worship services. They are on the fringe of the Christian community, often appearing to be pagans. However, because of their own choice they should not be classified as Animists, but as Christians or Marginal Christians."¹¹



PRINCIPLES OF THEOLOGY AND ORDER OF WORSHIP:

Kimbanguist theology is patterned somewhat after Old Testament theology with modifications. They are somewhat like the Israelites of the Old Testament. They had their forty years of wilderness wandering as the children of Israel had. Simon Kimbangu was imprisoned in 1921 and the Church did not get its independence until 1959 almost forty years later. They have had their struggle similar to David and Goliath as seen in their struggle of blacks against whites. There are also New Testament analogies. Simon Kimbangu is identified with the sufferings of not only Moses but also of Christ.

Kimbanguism is, according to their constitution, Christian faith with its teachings in harmony with the world. Its primary area of work is in Zaire but has potentiality to spread into other countries. Its message comes from the bible and through the power of the Holy Spirit teaches:²

- a. Love, worship, mercy, & imitation of Christ;
- b. Abhorrence of evil and love of all that is good;
- c. Justice and moral purity;
- d. Every religious practice which serves the cultivation and unity between people and nations.²

The above list was drawn up to establish eligibility regarding a recognized Church in the new Zaire state.

Its doctrine includes:

- a. Follow the ten commandments;
- b. Obey state authority;
- c. Love your enemies;
- d. No alcohol;
- e. No smoking or narcotics;
- f. No dancing;
- g. No nude swimming or sleeping;
- h. No interference in quarrels;
- i. No fetishes;
- j. Pay taxes;
- k. No polygamy;
- l. Confess sins before appointed members of the congregation;
- m. No pork or monkey meat.

W. Lanternari in his book lists two rather strange points of doctrine as being that they are required to preach from the Protestant bible. This requirement is not stated in any of the other literature. It is under-

standable that a Protestant bible would be their preference having come out of a Protestant tradition. The other doctrinal belief he mentioned was that they required baptism by immersion to be received into membership into the Church, and that the baptism is performed theoretically in the Jordan river but actually in a pool near the Tata Baptist Church.⁸ This is a most unusual statement since all other literature state that the Kimbanguists do not baptize by water. Mr. Lanternari is probably drawing heavily on his biased position as a Roman Catholic. His book is replete with such evidence.

The Kimbanuist catechism teaches that "Tata Simon Kimbangu (tata = father) is the envoy of our Lord Jesus Christ. Tata Simon Kimbangu died and rose again and is with us in the spirit. Tata Simon Kimbangu is not dead but in every age God chooses one man from each race to enlighten his people."¹² The above statement is full of ancestor worship in it.

The Church celebrates three principal festivals:¹³

1. 9 April - the start of the prophets' ministry.

This date coincides with Good Friday and Easter Day.

2. July - The festival of Matondo. This date coincides with the festival of first fruits.

3. 12 October - Death of Simon Kimbangu, which coincides with the feast of Tabernacles.

There is also a fourth day of recognition, Christ-day, which coincides with the day of their religious independence.

Kimbanguists celebrate Sunday as the Lord's Day. The members are supposed to avoid doing anything that would bring personal gain; buying or selling. Sunday is for

prayer, worship, hymns, preaching, and offering. 13

A typical Kimbanguist order of service for Sunday: 13

1. Singing
2. Prayer by someone in the congregation
3. A reading from the Psalms
4. Singing
5. Reading the bible passage for the sermon
6. Singing
7. Blessing of the children
8. Offerings
9. Prayer and sermon
10. Announcements
11. Prayer

A quick scan of the order of worship shows a strong interest in and desire to sing. Each time for singing may include several songs or hymns. Prayer is also an important part of the service.

The first and third Sundays have special services to include offerings for the construction of various buildings, such as schools, churches, and clinics.

The Church observes the following rites: 13

1. The sacrament of baptism - This is done without water but by the laying on of hands. To Simon Kimbangu water represented the preparation for Christ's coming. But he already came. It is now the Holy Spirit who comes.
2. The Sacrament of the Eucharist - This is an authentically African style of a rite. The bread is a loaf made of maize flour, potato flour, and banana flour. The blood is a natural honey diluted with water.

Communion is served three times a year; 6 April, in October (usually the 12th), and Christmas Day.

3. The sacrament of Marriage - Their liturgy is similar to that of the Protestant churches. Mixed marriages (with Protestants and with Catholics) are tolerated but only after some lengthy searching and consideration. Marriages are indissoluble. Separation is considered only because of adultery.
4. Other - Instead of baptizing children they receive a blessing, therefore there is no sacrament of confirmation. Unction of the sick is practiced but by use of water (holy water from Nkamba) instead of oil. The laying on of hands is reserved only for the spiritual head of the Kimbanguist Church. In exceptional cases the pastor may act as substitute. Some sacramental rites are peculiar only to the Kimbanguist Church; The blessing of the faithful by the spiritual head by the laying on of hands and the consecration of houses, new cars, and the laying of the first brick or stone of a house.

Prayers - Daily prayers are held three times a day. This is in accord to their understanding of scripture - in the morning, at midday, and in the evening. No shoes are worn during prayer or services. The prayer begins by invoking the trinity. Men must remove watches, bracelets, and hat in order to be unpretentious. Women must cover their heads. The most suitable position for prayer is in the kneeling position, with hands together in front of the chest. Supervisors who keep order during worship remain standing during prayer to watch over the

congregation and do not close their eyes.¹³ Also during prayer rockets are emptied of all objects.

Kimbanguists recognize that one cannot always follow the prescribed attitudes of prayer. One can pray anywhere, at work, lying down, walking, etc., but as a general rule the body should be subject to some discipline when at prayer.

A Kimbanguist who transgresses any of the Church's doctrines may be temporarily excommunicated. At that time he will be under supervision of another member who will admonish him, strengthen him, and encourage him to continue to worship, for Christ is looking for lost sheep.

The Church stresses the need for retreats, even as Christ spent 40 days in the wilderness and also withdrew to the Garden of Gethsemane. Simon Kimbangu himself often withdrew by himself to fast and pray. Retreats are organized every week and the number of participants ranges from 50 to 500.¹³ The length of the retreat is always three and a-half days, beginning Tuesday evening and ending Saturday morning. The retreat is also a time of fasting.

Another special service of the Church is the Christmas service of Accounts. This is a special service where the Church head draws up an account sheet of moral and spiritual behavior of the Christians and announces a line of conduct to be followed the following year so that everyone behaves in a Christian manner. An example of this is for the year 1975, which was the year to love one's neighbor. The general theme of the year was love.

THE KIMBANGUIST CHURCH TODAY:

The world Council of Churches welcomed to full membership "The Church of Jesus Christ on Earth by the Prophet Simon Kimbangu" in August 1960.

Joseph Diangienda, the spiritual head of the Kimbanguist Church and youngest son of the prophet, published a statement in 1960 which gives the present character of the Church. It says, in part, that their aim is to spread the gospel throughout the world, to join in ecumenical dialogue with other Christian faiths, and to welcome all to their Church.² This is truly an ecumenical attitude

A theological Seminary was established in 1970 to develop leaders. In 1977 the program was raised to a university-level seminary. Pastoral training is also given to candidates who do not qualify for university level work.¹⁴ The Seminary's faculty is truly ecumenical. The nine professors come from such varied traditions as Reformed, Lutheran, Pentecostal, Roman Catholic, and Coptic-Orthodox (Egypt).¹⁴ While this varied doctrinal background provides diversity, the unity is maintained by requiring the students to study Kimbanguist history, and to take part in all services, etc.

The largest Church building in Africa which was built by Africans for Africans is the Kimbanguist Church in Nkamba. It can probably seat 5,000. Its measurements come from Bible accounts of the second Temple.¹⁶ Its measurements are 50 meters x 100 meters x 30 meters high. Simon Kimbangu prophesied that one day a great temple would be built on the site where this Church now stands. This "the Cathedral for the five million adherents (1981 figure) to the religion, and it symbolizes their history, faithfulness and their spiritual pilgrimage."¹⁶

What kind of Christianity is Kimbanuism? It has features of the Baptist church for that is where it came out of, even though it does not follow that great and important belief of the Baptists, baptism by immersion. The Church also has the markings of a Pentecostal Church. It has prophecies and speaking in tongues. It also believes in and preaches the second coming of Jesus and also stresses evangelism. These are all features of Pentecostalism.¹⁵ The Church services have a type of liturgical orderliness and yet it includes a freedom of worship. We must conclude that it is unique - a truly African Church, although not for Africans only.

God is moving in their movement, and is blessing their efforts to be devout Christians and to be witnessing Christians. It appears that they are destined for continued numerical growth and they should be a strong voice in the Christian community as they continue to grow.

R. Philip Benson
EC 33
DR. S. Moffett
April 17, 1983

Very good account of an important Christian movement. Your criticisms and appreciations are nicely balanced.

Where are your reference foot-notes, with page numbers?

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